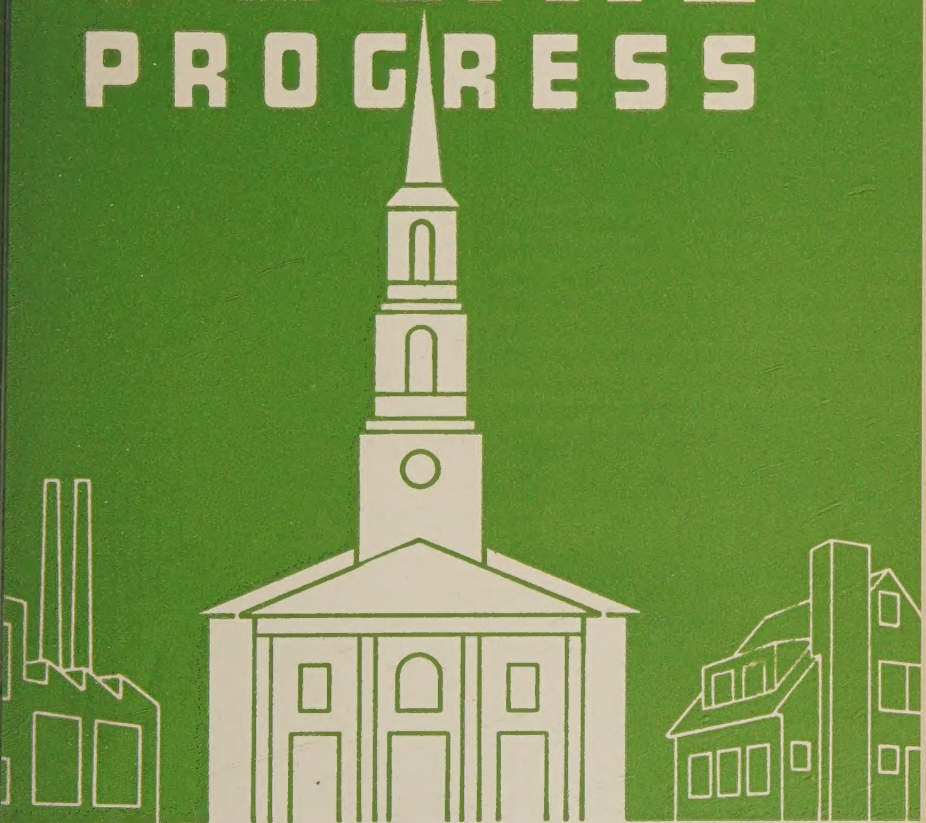


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Hitler Win?

UAW Dispute

Action on Four Fronts

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Social Progress

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Did Hitler Win?

*By a Protestant Chaplain **

HITLER set out to annihilate the Jewish people, and he very nearly accomplished his purpose. By means of the most expert laughter system ever used against human beings, he has reduced the European Jewish population that came under his control from 7,000,000 to 40,000, according to most recent estimates. Certainly that accomplishment was near enough to 100 per cent achievement to be hailed by fervent anti-Semites as an astounding victory.

An allied victory, however, did halt the Nazi death factories short of their intended goal (though just barely). There are still some Jews left. But even against this remnant Hitler seems to have won the other aspect of his fight—he has alienated them from the heart of the world. It seems incredible, but it is all too true—no one wants these homeless survivors of the Nazi bestiality. For years now, in righteous Christian indignation, we have preached “deliverance to the captives,” and at last we have “set at liberty them that are bruised.” Now, with indifferent heartlessness, we condemn these same people to the impossible exile of homelessness. “Oh, send them back to the countries from which Hitler took them!” someone says.

In some cases that might work. French Jews, if there be any left, could no doubt return to their country in safety. But to send the Jews back to many of these European countries would be like rescuing a man from a den of lions and then making him take refuge in a cave infested by cobras, for anti-Semitism is apparently even more virulent than ever. As I write this there comes a radio report that Poles in Krakow have burned a synagogue and that many Jews have been killed in fresh outbreaks.

Another indication of what is in store for the Jewish people is given in the abuse they suffer in the D.P. camps, even in American territory, at the hands of other Dispossessed Peoples. On August 14 an American official of UNRRA charged, for example, that “the Polish camp leader at Valterdigen was making life miserable for Jews by anti-Semitic activities.” We are children uninitiated in social psychology and in the reality of postwar Europe if we think that we have downed the persecution of the Jews by defeating Hitler and destroying the Nazi party. Central Europe is not redeemed from anti-Semitism, and the Jews should not be condemned to remain therein.

But where will they go? Christian America is horrified at the very thought of revising immigration

* From *Christianity and Crisis*, November 12, 1945. Used with permission.

quotas, with many lesser nations copying her attitude. As a result, no nation of any consequence is stepping forward with a hospitable invitation to settle. Had the Balfour Declaration, agreed upon in good faith by the victorious allies after the last war, been carried out, these people could look forward to a home and a new start in Palestine. But the mighty British lion has been afraid that a few Arab politicians might make trouble. Now these people are squatting in Germany. Generally they are treated like the rest of the D.P.'s even though many of the latter willingly came to Germany to work in the Nazi war machine. They are threatened with return to hostile countries, given haphazard relief while a politically hamstrung UNRRA tries to make up its mind whether they are entitled to assistance or not. International Red Cross has been shoved aside, and even the Jewish relief organization has been refused permission to minister to these survivors, while they are argued over by the victorious powers. The European war ended months ago, but these children of suffering are still suffering. Are we Christians, or are we international politicians first?

I have tried to understand how a victory in which my America played so commanding a role could still leave these tragic people so abandoned. I have watched American Army officers of Jewish background

nearly beside themselves with compassion, shame, anger, and frustration at what they have seen and heard, and I have wondered why the rest of us care so little. I believe that it is because we do not know the people. We were shocked and sickened by the terrible cruelty of the Nazi horror camps, and it seemed that at last we had awakened. But then we dissipated our moral indignation in an adolescent attempt to be "tough" with the Germans. We tried to implement this idea in a sweeping nonfraternization policy that was nonselective and entirely negative. It didn't work. By the time our moral indignation had run low. You see, we put all our emphasis on the fact that Germans were a cruel people. Though the German people did produce an amazing amount of cruelty, that generalization was too indiscriminate to stand. We were ignoring the individual, and only alienating many potential allies among the German populace, as well as losing the respect of our own men by our official stupidity.

Meanwhile, having directed our emotional powers into an attempt at hatred of a whole race of German for persecuting a whole race of Jew we now have too little emotional power left to single out the individual survivors of the horrors and love them as brothers. In our occupation we have followed no clear-cut philosophy based on our historic nation

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The Psychiatric Roots of Prejudice

*By Orville C. Jones **

RACIAL discrimination has four major roots. One is the historic act of slavery in the United States which brought the establishment of a majority-minority pattern based upon economic exploitation. All established patterns tend to persist, and when there is danger of a realignment of these arrangements people fight the change. A second root is the normal fear of competition for jobs. As long as we operate under an economy that does not assure full employment, workers may be expected to oppose any threat to their individual jobs. The third root is psychological in nature. Racial discrimination and oppression is one of the few socially acceptable patterns through which our emotional conflicts find satisfaction and release. The fourth root is the deliberate manipulation of the majority-minority pattern, and particularly the psychiatric phase of it for purposes of political and economic power. This technique has been made obvious by its deliberate use on the grand scale by Hitler in Germany. If sound judgment of people can be burned out with fires of hatred of minority groups, then they can be controlled more easily. Of these four roots the one least

understood has been the psychiatric. From the point of view of strategy in eliminating discrimination a sound knowledge of it is an absolute necessity. In so far as the practice of discrimination against minorities is a habit learned from the cultural environment, it is simply a matter of conditioning. It is a practice that has been learned by the normal learning processes and is subject to re-education by the normal educational methods. Churches and liberal groups in general have tended to assume that this is the whole of the matter and have been disappointed to discover that their efforts have counted for little in changing the national pattern. If, however, the taproot of this evil growth is not normal, but nourished in the soils of dark emotional abnormalities, then it is futile to expect the problem to yield to usual educational procedures.

Psychiatric Factors

There are at least six branches of the psychiatric root. One is sadism. This is a perversion of the sex instinct whereby the one afflicted derives pleasure from the infliction of pain and suffering upon others. A recent writer has charged that the network of "hate groups" in our country is a deliberate effort to

* Public Relations Representative, Ohio IO Council, Columbus, Ohio.

organize the sadistic element of the population into a tool to be used by unscrupulous persons seeking power and willing to tear the fabric of national unity to shreds to get it. Racial conflict is an opportunity for the sadist to express his perversion in a socially acceptable outlet.

A second division of the psychiatric root is fear. I do not mean the normal fear of competition for a job, but rather the vague anxieties that are really grounded in the sense of inadequacy or guilt and from which one seeks to find relief by identifying the source of fear with some external source rather than its true source within the person. If one can believe that the Negro or the Jew is a real menace, one may escape the necessity of facing one's own inward inadequacies or guilts. This sense of danger leads to a preventive attack on the sources of danger without adequate distinction between true and false sources.

The third division is closely allied. It is the tendency to project our own sins. We attempt to escape a sense of guilt by blaming others.

The fourth is a sense of inferiority. People are helped to feel superior if there is someone else whom they can consider inferior. "I wouldn't be a very desirable American if I didn't consider myself superior to a Nigger, would I?" said a businessman to me just yesterday. I have some reasons to suspect that the man has an inward dissatisfaction with

his own social usefulness in the business he pursues. The sense of superiority is ministered to more effectively if the person feels that he belongs to a group that is superior to another group. Membership in the group, whether it be an exclusive country club or the white race, bolsters the feeling of importance and covers the feeling of inferiority. To keep a racial minority in an inferior status is an easy way to maintain the feeling of superiority on the part of the majority group.

The fifth branch of the psychiatric root is frustration. When normal desires to be persons of worth or to attain satisfactory standards of living are blocked, then resentments accumulate which find expression in aggressiveness. These emotions create an inward explosiveness which may vent itself on any likely object, often entirely disassociated from the original cause. Racial conflict presents an opportunity for the expression of pent-up aggressiveness.

The last branch is insecurity. This is a broad term and includes several of the factors already mentioned. The sense of insecurity may be a product either of internal factors such as guilt, feeling of inadequacy, or of external forces such as national danger, economic depression, or threat of competitors. Its minimal effect is tension and strain followed by fatigue and irritability. It is significant that attacks on Negroes, such as the Sojourner Truth

conflict, frequently come from foreign-born or second-generation Americans who do not feel secure as to their own place in the national life.

Strategy of Elimination

If these psychiatric factors are an important part of the social dynamics that perpetuate patterns of discrimination, what type of strategy in eliminating discrimination do they call for? Obviously it is impossible to solve this problem in the foreseeable future by the elimination of these factors. To wait until each individual is converted and becomes a balanced, mature person is to postpone solution beyond our time. The important consideration is that racial discrimination is allowed to serve the needs and desires of the emotionally immature and unbalanced element of the white population. It is one of the few socially acceptable patterns that allow expression of these emotional abnormalities. The attitude of liberal Christians who defer to these unbalanced people is in itself one of the factors that perpetuates discrimination. One person who loudly protests against an expression of democracy in relation to a member of a minority group can stir up more confusion and draw to himself more attention than a hundred people who believe and do the decent thing.

The obvious strategy is to do everything possible to make it no

longer socially acceptable for neurotics to seek the satisfaction of their needs in the practice of discrimination. A powerful attack lies in revealing to people the unwholesome motivation behind their actions. People who proclaim their racial hatreds are announcing to the world that they are the victims of serious and contagious spiritual sickness. Pressure must be exerted against the spread of this abnormal condition. Society cannot wait until the guilts, fears, and frustrations of all persons are overcome until it says that deeds against the democratic principle which is the foundation of America will no longer be tolerated. Those who believe in democracy must realize the need to stop being deferential to those who hate and to meet their attitudes with positive attitudes on the other side that will prevent them from gaining a pleasant satisfaction out of the experience. The state must also move to create a strong bulwark in law, through Fair Employment Practice Committee measures, through outlawing restrictive covenants and Jim Crow practices.

I do not mean to say that the normal educational work should not be pressed with vigor, for many people can be modified by it; but I do mean to say that education alone without the willingness to exert strong social pressure never has and never will eliminate racial discrimination from American life.

Equal Job Opportunity

By Malcolm Ross *

EQUAL opportunity to use one's acquired skill in earning a living—whether during war, readjustment, or peace—is a bread-and-butter problem. That it is also a fundamental of democracy goes without saying. But the practical bread-and-butter facet of the problem is the one I want to consider here.

There are in this country two primary economic groups. The first comprises those whose comfortable incomes or secured salaries place them on that pleasant level where reconversion is highly unlikely to affect the contents of the family market basket. For the second group, comprising the great mass of wage earners, prolonged unemployment has a direct relationship to the family bread basket and coalbin. They live a jump ahead of the pay check. The reaction of economic ills upon them is immediate and inexorable. It was largely out of their fear of insecurity that the riots and strikes of 1919 arose. True, their situation is somewhat better now, though temporary displacements are inevitable. We have a wider cushion of war savings; we have industry, government, labor, and diplomacy all working at reconversion. Opinions differ as to

procedures, but we are at work evolving them.

But that is not in itself cause for optimism about the chances of minority group workers to share speedily and fully in the opening job opportunities of reconversion. The Negro, the Mexican American, sometimes the Jew, and sometimes the American of foreign extraction, traditionally have been condemned to the menial and lower-paid jobs. The war taught them skills and raised their industrial status. Yet the peace, unless we are both wise and active through forestalling discrimination, can easily reduce them again to the level where individual skill and energy cannot hurdle the barriers of race, color, or creed.

Thirty years ago nine out of every ten Negro workers were on farms or in domestic service. The high wages and need for man power in the war plants of 1916 and 1917 stimulated a mass movement of Negroes away from the farms of the South to industrial centers both south and north. By 1918 there were a million Negro workers in Northern war industries. They lost their place in industry in 1920, yet the wave of migration continued. In the period between the two world wars, the number of Negro mechanics shrank from 10,000 to 4,000; boilermakers from 1.4

* Chairman of the National Committee on Fair Employment Practice. From *Common Ground*, winter, 1946. Used with permission.

to 500; railroad firemen from 6,000 to 2,000. In the fight for jobs during the depression, Negroes had even been squeezed out of their traditional service jobs by white workers.

When we entered the present war, it was apparent that neither in numbers employed nor in training were Negro workers prepared to take a place in war industry commensurate with their willingness and ability. A study by the Bureau of Employment Security revealed that 50 per cent of nearly 300,000 job openings expected to occur by February, 1942, would not be available to Negro workers. In the early months of defense preparation and war, unemployed white workers were the first to be given jobs, and the training courses for future war workers were almost exclusively provided for whites. The dilemma of Mexican Americans followed similar patterns.

Discrimination was the open and unchallenged cause of this uneconomic waste of national man power. On June 25, 1941, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 8802 which declared it national policy not to discriminate in Government service or defense industry because of race, creed, color, or national origin. This was subsequently re-enforced through Executive Order 9346 in May, 1943.

All Federal departments and agencies were thus committed to a policy of nondiscrimination. Contractors with the Army, Navy, and

Maritime Commission were bound by a nondiscrimination clause. The War Manpower Commission was made responsible that discrimination was not practiced in the recruitment, training, and utilization of war workers. No exact measure of the effectiveness of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, set up to enforce Executive Order 8802, is possible, but there is much evidence that the agency played an important part in bringing about full utilization of the nation's man power.

Since its inception the committee has processed some 12,000 cases and has settled about forty per cent of these satisfactorily, with the remaining cases dismissed on merits or because of insufficient evidence. During this period the committee held thirty hearings involving 132 companies, thirty-eight unions, and five Government agencies. It helped to eliminate discrimination through the operation of eight agreements with other Government agencies and with two labor unions. Over the entire period about eighty per cent of the committee's cases involved Negroes and Mexican Americans; ten per cent were based on creed, involving mainly Jews; and ten per cent on national origin, involving citizens of foreign birth. As the war progressed, discrimination because of national origin decreased about five per cent and Negro cases increased correspondingly.

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Now That You Are Home

By S. Edward Young *

In April, 1944, this author's article, "When You Come Home," looked forward to the return of our men and women then in the services overseas. Now those men and women have come home, and Mr. Young, as their friend, looks forward with them to their place in the country with all its problems to which they have returned.

NOW that you who fought so valiantly in this war are home, one of our prayers has been answered. You are safely back among us. We cannot be grateful enough to God for that.

We cannot forget the many brave and talented who did not come back. Their sacrifice puts us in a world where we are not free to do merely as we please, but must live in a way that is worthy of the price they paid for our freedom. Down the years many words will be said about these buddies of yours. There will be much flag-waving and high oratory. It is not, however, in many words that they are best remembered but in the kind of nation and world we the living endeavor to create by untiring resolve and plain hard work.

You have come home to a nation of many problems, that is to say, you have come back to normal living, for life is an endless series of problems and uncertainties. When Thomas Paine said, "These are the times that try men's souls," he could have been speaking to almost any age in history, for since the dawn of time men

have wrestled against what was, them, fearful odds.

We can look at the inescapability of life's problems in two ways—first as a load from which it would be glorious to escape.

Sometimes we are touched by what has been described as an "island complex"—the feeling that if we were on a desert island, far away from the pressures and problems of daily living, we could do something worth-while. That is a dangerous illusion, Halford Luccock declares. The best story of a desert island was not written on one. It was written, he says, in a busy life in London, by a man, Daniel Defoe, engaged in keeping one jump ahead of the sheriff. Or we can look at the inescapability of life's problems as a great opportunity for exploration into the possibilities of organization and co-operation. Never before have we been so challenged to make the world we live in "One World."

One World

The biggest political question confronting our generation is how to turn international chaos—a world in which each nation is sovereign un-

* Minister, First Presbyterian Church, East Aurora, New York.

self—into a world community. In San Francisco a baby world organization was born. It wasn't perfect. Yet it was still a "blessed event," for we cannot bring up a baby until we have one. We are now confronted with the problem of nurturing this baby into maturity and strength.

The alternative is too awful to contemplate and no one knows that better than you men who did not merely read about war, but fought it. To be sure you have personal problems of your own, but they cannot monopolize all your energies, for every man's personal problem is tied up with the nature of the wide world in which he lives. Even the most private back yard is affected by the heavens. And each man must help to make the world if it is to be the kind of world in which he and his family and other men and their families can live.

Economic Strife

You have come home to a nation in the pains of economic strife, fearful pains that we cannot yet diagnose with certainty either as growing pains or pains of great sickness.

One trouble has been that we are crying out in the economic world the theory that in the political world was called "balance of power." It assumed that life was a battlefield and that the only hope was to balance the military and diplomatic power of possible contestants. So England in "splendid isolation" sought to

balance the conflicting powers on the continent. Historically this "balance of power" theory has been a failure. It has neither prevented war nor kept England safe.

Still we have been trying the same theory in the economic world. We have assumed that it too was a battlefield and that the solution consisted in matching the power of management and labor until in some fortuitous draw justice would be secured.

The time has come to explore the possibilities of the economic world, not as a battlefield, but as a community in which what affects one affects all—an excellent basis for working together instead of matching power against each other. It is a valiant exploration upon whose success vast consequences hang. There is no personal economic problem that is not related to it, a fact which opens the door in front of you as an American citizen, with the invitation to come in and put your mind, experience, and courage to work.

Group Conflict

The race problem is still with us, increasing as competition for jobs becomes keener. When servicemen speak of race it is in favor of tolerance. We admire your stand and expect it to continue. You know better than most of us that the stuff inside, of which a man is made, has nothing to do with the color of his

skin or the shape of his nose. The nation will listen to you. You are the most powerful lobby in American life. If you tackle this race problem from a Christian point of view, there is great promise for these "different" citizens of our land.

Self-direction

After every war moral standards deteriorate. War means great discipline from without, both for the men who fight and for the people who stay at home. The end of the war is a kind of three-o'clock bell at school. The disciplines are off, and sometimes the bedlam is terrific. All this indicates that although we are physically grown up, many of us are at heart still little children. We need your help at this point. War matures men as the simple passing of the years cannot. It brings to some men a new appreciation of the psalmist's prayer, "Create in me a clean heart, O God."

Your Answer?

To all these problems you can turn a deaf ear. But we predict that many of you will not, for during the war you often mustered courage from the thought in your heart of "the American way of life" which you were willing to risk your life to preserve. The longer you were overseas, the more you idealized that American way of life until the America you dreamed of did not exist in fact.

Now that you have come home and discovered again the America that exists in fact, perhaps you are disappointed or irritated; but you can never dodge the responsibility of working to bring to pass the America of your dreams.

The Church is an old hand at the business of building true communities on the ruins that strife has caused. Its spire is a symbol that there is, down our street, a group of people thinking and often working to make the world more like the world you dreamed of as you fought.

We can say this with all conviction. The Church will come nearer to bringing to pass that better America and that better world if it has your help than if you join the ranks of the indifferent who stand off and merely criticize. Surely this makes sense. The Church at its best and you at your best are working for the same things. Each of us will be stronger if we get together.

Certainly the future of mankind lies in developing that faith and goodwill that alone can turn the power that science has put in our hands from self-destruction to world reconstruction.

In this world of problems and conflicts, then, are you a part of the problem or a part of the solution? That is a searching question. The Church needs you and you need the Church. We need each other, and Christ wants us both. Let's get together and stay together!

Health Hazards in Rural America

*By Katharine Gladfelter **

THAT low incomes and poor health are inextricably related is one of the hard facts driven home by the President's recent recommendations on medical care. This fact is not news to the Board of National Missions, much of whose work, evangelistic, educational, medical, is in rural areas with rural people.

Take the country as a whole. In 1943 farm incomes were higher than in many years previous. Yet farm families which made up more than twenty per cent of the population earned only ten per cent of the national income. Health statistics for these same families showed infant death rates one quarter higher than in the cities; maternal death rates one third higher; preventable diseases—typhoid, malaria, diphtheria—more prevalent; and forty-one out of every 100 farm boys aged 18 and 19 being rejected by Selective Service for physical, mental, or educational defects, compared to the average of twenty-five rejects out of 100 for all occupational groups.

Of course low income is not the sole explanation. Isolation, distances, ignorance, also play their part. Basically, however, rural families have fewer doctors, fewer

nurses, fewer hospital beds, fewer public-health services such as child health conferences and clinics, prenatal clinics and home delivery care, because these things cost money which neither the families nor the local governmental unit which their taxes support, usually the county, can provide.

But these generalizations do not tell the whole story. In certain areas where the Board of National Missions is working statistics are even more startling. The Negro child and his mother are peculiarly disadvantaged. The death rate for Negro infants is two thirds higher than for white babies while the death rate for Negro mothers is two and one half times the white rate. For Negro youth the tuberculosis rate is seven times that of white youth, and social diseases are far more prevalent. Since approximately 70 per cent of the Negro population lives in the Southeastern States these figures apply especially to that area. Yet as one notes these and notes too that the highest percentage of deliveries by untrained midwives is among the Negroes of the South and that the highest maternal death rates in the country are found there, one must also remember that these states are struggling to care for thirty-five per cent of the nation's children on

* Assistant Secretary, Unit of Educational and Medical Work, Presbyterian Board of National Missions.

fifteen per cent of the national income. Clearly, their financial resources are simply not adequate to the task.

In the Southwest, Arizona and New Mexico, are two other population groups with which National Missions is concerned, the Indians and Spanish Americans. Here too health conditions are far, far below any reasonable standard. New Mexico has an infant mortality rate that is the highest in the United States and twice the national average. The maternal death rate is exceeded only by four Southern States with large Negro populations. Among the Spanish American citizens of New Mexico, about fifty per cent of the total, the infant and maternal death rates are twice the Anglo rate and the tuberculosis rate for children of school age is also twice the Anglo rate.

Neighboring Arizona is the home of more full-blood Indians than any other state in the country. Vital statistics for all Indian tribes are still far from complete but the annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs show medical care to be quite inadequate; a death rate twenty-five per cent higher than for the country as a whole; an infant death rate twice the national average; and tuberculosis an increasingly serious problem. Conditions known to exist among the Navajos, the largest Indian tribe, bear out these generalizations. The Navajos

occupy a reservation in northern Arizona the size of the States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Delaware. Here, in an area of magnificent distances, poor roads, scattered population, and still primitive living conditions, it is estimated that 75 per cent of births still take place in hogans attended by untrained midwives. Inevitably, this means high infant and maternal death rates. Tuberculosis is very prevalent, while wartime experiences off the reservation where the Navajos with money in their pockets were an easy prey to organized vice have brought an alarming increase in venereal disease.

National Missions is also concerned with two other areas where United States sovereignty has so far failed to produce either proper medical care or healthy people. In the beautiful but overcrowded Puerto Rico with 540 people to the square mile, the tuberculosis rate is more than five times that in the United States proper; the syphilis rate three times; and the infant mortality rate two and one half times the national average. Ninety per cent of the rural population is infected with hookworm. Yet with health needs so acute, there are approximately only 1,500 free hospital beds in the island where a minimum of 5,000 are needed; only 1,300 graduate nurses where 6,000 are required to equal the prewar average in the United States.

In Alaska, beautiful but unde-

populated, social diseases and tuberculosis are abnormally high among the Indians who comprise about one half of the population. Tuberculosis is the worst scourge, the death rate being, according to the superintendent of the recently organized Territorial Department of Health, eight times that in the United States proper.

It is a fair question to ask, what, in the face of health conditions like these, is the Board of National Missions doing? Until the war intervened there were trained nurses on the staffs of most of the larger National Missions schools. In these schools, which enroll in the main rural students, the work of the nurses is preventive and educational: to discover and help to remedy health defects; to teach good health habits; above all to help to awaken students to the need for better home and community health and show the means of securing it.

In several communities, the Board provides community health services. These are primarily preventive, though emphases vary. At the health center in Lindrith, New Mexico, the nurse has had special training in midwifery on a scholarship provided by the State Board of Health and majors in work with mothers and young children through clinics, dispensary service, health classes, and home visitation. In Cotton Plant, Arkansas, where a health center is part of the program of the National

Missions school, dispensary service and regular community clinics are featured. The nurse also works with Negro sharecroppers in the surrounding countryside. Five health clubs for both men and women have been organized, better stock is being introduced, and families are growing vegetables for their tables and for hot lunches in the rural schools their children attend. In these and other similar projects, local doctors cooperate.

Four hospitals are maintained by the Board of National Missions. Two, the Sage Memorial Hospital, Ganado, Arizona, and the Presbyterian Hospital, San Juan, Puerto Rico, are Grade A hospitals with accredited schools of nursing. Ganado, on the Navajo Indian Reservation, is still doing pioneer work in breaking down the superstitious fear of modern medical care and in interesting the mothers in proper child care. An extensive field medical program curtailed by the war will be resumed as soon as personnel and transportation are again available. The Presbyterian Hospital has led in the setting of medical and nursing standards in Puerto Rico and in the care of charity patients, the ratio of charity to pay patients being ten to one. At both of these hospitals, the schools of nursing are outstanding. That at Ganado, the first and still the only such school in the country for Indian nurses, has attracted students

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The Importance of Russian-American Understanding

*By Hubert C. Noble **

NOT only have you let those hundreds of thousands of G.I.'s die in vain, you have forgotten they died at all," is the bitter accusation made by a veteran against the American people in a recent letter published in *The Saturday Review of Literature*. He makes the accusation because he is appalled and ashamed at the conduct of the American press and radio commentators toward Russia, because it appears to him that this country is not trying to get along with Russia, that there is much talk of future war with Russia.

This veteran's fears are important because they are the fears of any thinking person today. Our hope for the future rests on our ability to understand and get along with Russia. Without that we can have no world organization for peace, and without peace the future looks dark indeed for civilization. For that reason it is in order to ask why this attitude of fear and suspicion toward Russia has developed in America.

Reasons for Distrust

1. One reason is the basic fear of those in our nation who hate the

thought of any social change in the country and label any suggestion of social change communistic and the result of Russian influence.

2. The second reason is that those possessed by this fear have control of the organs of information in the nation and so have an opportunity to express their fears through newspapers, magazines, and radio and to spread propaganda against Russia among millions of people.

3. A third reason is the very natural inclination of a nation to view with suspicion the motives and actions of another nation while seeking perfect justification and purity of motive in its own actions, even though they be almost identical. We can understand our own desire for bases in the Pacific, but we cannot understand Russia's desire for spheres of influence in the Balkans. Yet both spring from the common desire for unilateral security.

4. A fourth reason is that Russian actions have given some ground for suspicion on our part. Russian refusal to allow American press representatives freedom in Russia, an enigmatic foreign policy, the rigid and seemingly unreasonable standards that are at times taken—all make for misunderstanding.

* Chaplain, Occidental College, Los Angeles, California; Chairman, Commission of International Justice and Goodwill, Los Angeles Church Federation.

5. A fifth reason is the very natural fact that any great power is a potential threat to any other great sovereign nation. Since suspicion and hatred are the children of fear, it is very easy for both Russia and America to look askance at each other.

6. A sixth reason is the possibility that other nations in the interests of their own security are interested in developing bad relationships between these two great powers. The Nazis and Japanese, of course, definitely worked to this end, but it is not unreasonable to think that other nations will find it to their interest to do likewise.

Even as we see these reasons, we had better realistically examine the consequences of this loose talk of future war with Russia. Any reputable authority in the field of world affairs knows that the consequences of such a war would be appalling, and in the light of the atomic bomb it is very doubtful whether civilization could survive such a conflict.

John L. Childs has indicated what it would mean to be drawn into conflict with Russia. He points out that we would be warring against a nation that is three times the size of the United States and forty times the size of France. It is a nation of tremendous resources—fifty-five per cent of the world's oil, twenty-eight per cent of the world's power capacity, twenty-one per cent of the world's iron, one third of the world's forest

reserves. It has a large and growing population, nearly 200,000,000 at the present time and is expected to reach nearly 300,000,000 within a generation. It occupies a geographic location that makes it almost undefeatable, as Napoleon and Hitler both discovered. It is a nation that is wholeheartedly committed to the most complete use of science and technology to increase its production.

Lastly, Russia has a prestige among the colored, exploited, and underprivileged peoples of the world that would give it tremendous worldwide support. In this regard Russia is unlike Nazi Germany. With all its political excess and cruelty it does stand for and does work for the uplift of common people. What such a war would mean in terms of radio-controlled atomic robot bombs, deadly poison gas, and all the other new means of destruction is hard to imagine. Even if we were to defeat Russia, we should be left in such a state of exhaustion and chaos that it is doubtful if we should ever recover.

A Program of Action

What can we do then, at least as far as it lies within our power, to prevent this dreadful possibility?

1. We can answer the reactionaries who have such a deathly fear of communism by pointing out that there is no need of such fear if there is intelligent reform in our social

and economic life. If we will solve our problems and remove injustice in the democratic way, we need have no fear of communism. This has been borne out by the way in which Russia has lost ground in Hungary and Yugoslavia during the past few months, and is further borne out by the fact that even in China communism is a distinctive Chinese type rather than the Russian brand.

2. We can do our best to see that the press and radio fairly present the truth about issues in which Russia is involved.

I happened to be at the press conference at San Francisco when the announcement regarding the chairmanship issue was first made. All that was said was that the steering committee had met and had not yet selected a chairman for the conference. Within two hours certain sections of the press were blazing with headlines about Russian intransigence and hostility, giving a false impression of the whole issue and of the Russian attitude. As Commander Stassen pointed out to a group of observers the next day, there was no bitter conflict. The Russians merely presented a perfectly reasonable suggestion that was different from the customary method of selecting the chairman of international gatherings which for many years has been dominated by the French- and English-speaking peoples. He felt that it was perfectly reasonable and really more demo-

cratic to rotate the chairmanship than to slavishly follow the other precedent. Some of us have got to do some serious thinking about recording our opposition to the unfair presentation of the news, perhaps going so far as to withdraw subscriptions from papers such as those of the Hearst chain that consistently follow a pattern of distortion.

3. We ourselves need to realize and to make known to others the good grounds there are for Russian suspicion. Imagine a hypothetical case. Supposing that we in 1917 had had a very bitter presidential election and had elected a socialist president. And let us suppose that the Russians, not liking the new turn in our politics, had sent an expeditionary force that landed in California and demanded that we change the government we had elected. We would not forget such a military invasion very quickly! Yet we and Great Britain did just about that in 1918. We sent an expeditionary force to overthrow the communist regime.

We and Great Britain used our influence to keep Russia out of the League of Nations. We did all we could to destroy the revolution. For years we treated the Russians as unwanted members of the world's society, and we sought to turn Germany against them in the hope that the Germans and Russians would exhaust themselves in a great war. A

(Continued on page 38)

Christian Peace Action on Four Fronts

The Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, meeting in Philadelphia on November 8 and 9, 1945, issued a statement urging Christian action on four fronts for peace. Subsequently, the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches approved the statement for study and action by the Churches. Excerpts from that statement are here presented.¹

THE Commission statement on Christian action for peace points out that we are entering on a difficult and critical period, which will largely determine the pattern of the future. With the development of atomic power, prevention of war becomes the all-important issue.

Christians have a special responsibility to lead the effort which must now be made. This task calls for action on four fronts.

The Inner Front

Let us seek to cleanse our hearts of the evil contaminations of war and pray God to renew a right spirit within us.

In the course of war, "we have come to tolerate, as aids to victory, qualities and deeds, which, when they appeared in Nazism, rightly revolted us. If we are slow in ridding ourselves of the baser qualities which war has bred, we shall adopt policies which will produce inhuman consequences. Later on we shall surely recoil. Those revulsions will occur in different places at different times, with consequent division and re-

crimination among the allies and vacillation and unwarranted sentimentality toward our ex-enemies. What is needed are farsighted policies that can and will be consistently pursued for many years. Such policies can come only from visions that are clear, minds that think straight and hearts that are comprehending. Such visions, such minds, such hearts cannot coexist with hatred, vengefulness, hypocrisy and hardness of heart."

The Church Front

Let us seek unity of effort, by all men of good will, at home and abroad, in order that their influence may accomplish the task that lies ahead.

"If mankind is to be saved from disaster a minority must lead the way." But such a minority must be profoundly dedicated and well-organized. Individual Christians will be ineffective, unless their influence is united in a local Church and parish. The denominations must act together, and also act with Roman Catholics and Jews, whose wisdom and purpose in relation to world order closely correspond with our own. Churches of all nations must accept responsibility to create

¹ The full text may be obtained from the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, at five cents copy.

a sense of world community. "It requires that the churches of America exert themselves sacrificially to aid the stricken churches and peoples of Europe and Asia. It calls for deepened understanding and intensification of missionary effort."

"The Christian forces of the world, though still a minority, must on that very account quickly become a well-organized and militant minority."

The Peace Treaty Front

Let us seek peace treaties which embody principles of justice and which will promote the general welfare.

"Particular peace settlements must now be made. The making of them will strain allied unity and imperil the future peace."

If unity is to be maintained and the United Nations Organization is to have a chance to succeed, the victors must apply principles that will promote the general welfare. Among these are the following:

"1. Territorial changes should conform to the natural long-term aspirations of the inhabitants. Strategic and economic considerations ought to be subordinated to human considerations. There ought to be no wholesale displacements of peoples.

"2. Colonial peoples should be assured independence or self-government within a fixed term wherever practicable. Meanwhile, genuine international trusteeship

should be provided through the United Nations Organization.

"3. Armaments and military establishments should be limited to the needs of internal order and of international order as planned by the United Nations. There should be a beginning of such international supervision and control as must become general if the human race is to protect itself against destruction.

"4. Reparation should be limited to productive capacity over and above that required to maintain average living standards. It should not be an instrument of vengeance. There should be no enslavement and, as stated in the Atlantic Charter, the vanquished should see the possibility of 'access on equal terms to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity'.

"5. The treaties of peace should make a beginning in realizing the conception of an international Bill of Rights."

To give moral principles a maximum chance to prevail, "there should be a general peace conference upon which the public opinion of the world can focus."

Mistakes are inevitable; therefore settlements made now "should not morally or legally preclude any party, in the light of truer insights and altered circumstances, from hereafter seeking 'the peaceful adjustment of any situation, regardless of origin, which it deems likely to impair the general welfare of

friendly relations among nations' [UNO]."

The United Nations Front

Let us seek that the United Nations organization develop its curative and creative functions so that, through common effort against the common threats to mankind, the peoples of the world may find fellowship.

"The United Nations Organization is an asset of incalculable value." It is in many respects what we sought in our "Six Pillars of Peace." It "has the power and opportunity to establish a peace which will accord with Christian principles."

"The hour of victory inevitably starts the disintegration of a war coalition." In place of the common enemy, new occasions for unity must quickly be seized upon. "We must now together engage in fighting against other common threats to the general welfare. . . . There are the economic dislocations and maladjustments that produce want and fear. There are political maladjustments that repress natural human aspirations. There is the menace of militarism and the necessity for controlling such forces as atomic energy. There is exploitation and repression of dependent peoples. There are denials of human rights and fundamental freedoms. . . . These evils, in varying degrees, permeate all our society, and the peoples of the world ought to unite to fight them."

"That is precisely what the United

Nations undertake to do. . . . If the peoples of the world respond to this new call to battle, then, by striving together, they will develop a sense of fellowship in the world community. That is the only reliable preventive of war. It is the only foundation on which close political association can be built."

"THEREFORE, we urge the people of this nation:

"To try to understand sympathetically the differing traditions, ideas and motives of other peoples, both of our former enemies and our allies;

"To acquaint themselves with the curative and creative possibilities of the United Nations;

"To see to it that our Government, through its representatives in the General Assembly, gives leadership to the speedy inauguration of efforts for human welfare;

"To join vigorously in such efforts inspired by a fervor no less than that of war.

"The functioning of the United Nations Organization presupposes a civilized world. In great areas that civilization is now imminently threatened by starvation, privation and consequent chaos. Therefore, pending the time when the United Nations Organization can function and, indeed, in order to make that functioning possible, the people of our nation should take whatever remedial and sacrificial action they can to alleviate the appalling conditions which are the aftermath of war."

Facts About Jobs

*By Henry A. Wallace **

TO GET and keep full employment calls for all the energies and purposefulness of the whole nation. Enterprise which creates jobs is born of human hope and aspiration. It is the hope of the individual, his vision and courage, which makes job-creating enterprise possible. A threat against such hope is a threat against all enterprise and against our limitless opportunities. The loss of hope withers the people's energies, their enterprise, their ambitions. It is absolutely essential, therefore, that we squarely face the problem of racial and religious discrimination and hatred.

Discrimination Destroys Enterprise

Social tensions, few or many, would be intolerable in our national life for any reason. But when 23,000,000 of our people are Catholics, 13,000,000 are Negroes, and 5,000,000 are Jews—a total equal to about one third of our population—the existence of social tension must be faced with boldness and courage. If America is to attain full employment and lasting peace, it cannot afford the social chaos of racial and religious discrimination.

Nazi barbarism began with these same racial and religious prejudice and hatred. And in their fanaticism the Nazi terrorists even denied Christ and destroyed Christian morality as a force for unity among the peoples of the earth. It is quite clear that any organized group that would seek to divide the people through propaganda-inspired race and religious prejudice and hatred, to divide the people is guilty of the worst kind of fraud and crime against man and society.

Poison or Prosperity

We have learned—and we have paid for that knowledge in life and treasure—that whosoever willfully harms any part of society irreparably damages all of it. We have remedy in law against commercial fraud. Surely racial and religious intolerance fostered by organized groups, using propaganda channels, represents nothing more nor less than social fraud—a crime against society. I firmly believe, therefore, that Congress should enact a legal remedy making such social crimes punishable—with due protection, of course, for our civil liberties. Our full employment, just as our peace, needs the proper climate in which to thrive.

* United States Secretary of Commerce. From *Sixty Million Jobs*, Simon & Shuster. Used with permission.

The GM — UAW Dispute

Report of National Citizens Committee

The current dispute between the General Motors Corporation and its employees who are organized in, and represented by, the International Union, United Automobile, Aircraft and Agricultural Workers of America, CIO, is a matter of vital interest to all Americans.

We present herewith the findings of a committee of citizens who met in Detroit, Michigan at the invitation of the U A W-C I O, to inquire into the issues leading up to the dispute.

BECAUSE of the importance to the whole country of the issues involved in the current work stoppages in the General Motors Corporation, we were glad to accept the invitation of the U A W-C I O to examine the transcript of its negotiations and to inquire into the problems raised thereby. We have also sought and received from the Corporation materials setting forth more fully its position. C. E. Wilson, President of the General Motors Corporation; H. W. Anderson, Vice-President; R. J. Thomas, President of the U A W-C I O; and Walter P. Reuther, Vice-President, were invited in person to present further information to the committee. Mr. Thomas' office informed the committee that he was out of the city. Mr. Reuther appeared and answered questions put to him by the committee. The Corporation did not respond to the invitation.

The committee has read the 739-page record of the negotiations between the Corporation and the Union and has sought all available information on both sides of the controversy.

Our review of this very complex and strategic industrial controversy leads us to believe that the public should be more fully apprised of certain facts. The members of this committee . . . have neither been asked, nor have we sought, to serve as conciliators or otherwise to usurp the functions of the active Government agencies in this matter. But in view of the apparent stalemate in negotiations and mounting losses from the continuing stoppages, we deem it proper to express our opinion on the issues.

As background for consideration of the issues, we here present a summary of the contentions of each side of the controversy.

The Contentions of the Parties

FOR THE UNION

The controversy arose over the Union's proposal of a 30 per cent wage increase under the terms of its existing contract with the Corporation. Part of this increase, it urged, should be allocated to an equalization fund to

make wage rates more uniform throughout the Corporation, part to a social security fund, and the balance to a blanket increase in all hourly wage rates. The Union asked this wage increase to make up for reductions in take-home pay resulting from shorter hours and downgrading of workers, and to advance the general purchasing power necessary to support full employment.

A cardinal point in the Union's proposal was that this increase be granted without any increase in the prices of General Motors' products. It submitted much data in support of its contention that the Corporation can afford such raises, while keeping present prices, and still earn high profits. Increased volume of output, tax reductions, new equipment and higher labor productivity were analyzed in detail. Union estimates suggested that price *reductions* might even be possible if volume is as high as recently predicted by the president of General Motors.

The Union constantly reiterated its willingness to reconsider its 30 per cent proposal if the "arithmetic" of the Corporation's financial condition showed that such a wage boost would necessitate price relief or undue profit cuts. It refused to eliminate from the negotiations the consideration of the effects of its wage demands on prices and profits and requested Corporation data to show what these effects would be. It elaborated an argument for stable prices and rising purchasing power as necessary to the health of the highly productive American economy.

In the final stages, the Union offered to refer the issues to arbitration for a binding decision, after rejecting the Corporation's counterproposal (noted hereafter) on the ground: (1) that the first proposal (that the work week be increased from 40 to 45 hours) would contravene Federal legal standards for hours of work and would increase unemployment, and (2) that the second (an offer of a wage increase of 10 per cent) was predicated on the Corporation's plan to seek higher prices to meet the added wage cost. It asked for the Corporation's answer within 24 hours to the proposal of the arbitration principle.

FOR THE CORPORATION

The Corporation rejected the proposal of the Union for a 30 per cent increase in wages, stating that this would bring a general increase in cost that would necessitate a 30 per cent rise in prices and lead to inflation. It derided the Union's computation of Corporation profits, expected costs, volume of production, and labor productivity. It emphasized the value of low prices and the key role of high production levels in achieving them and argued that the possibility of high levels of profit is an essential element in the American economic system.

The Corporation submitted general figures to contradict the Union's estimates, but declined to furnish the detailed components on which these general figures were based on the ground that this was not a proper subject of inquiry for the Union.

The Corporation's representatives constantly urged the Union to eliminate questions of prices and profits and to confine the collective bargaining to the wage issue. It denied that the effects of wage increases on profitability was a proper subject for negotiations with the Union and refused to make any wage-increase offer tied to an agreement not to raise prices. Prices, like profits, it urged, are the Corporation's, not the Union's, business. It characterized the Union's effort to bargain on these matters as unwarranted incursions of management's province. It also introduced material which suggested that unionism in America should be reduced in the scope of its bargaining power.

The Corporation also offered counterproposals of (1) six per cent wage increases along with a change in the wage and hours law to make 45 hours the standard work week in place of the present 40-hour provision; (2) wage increases sufficient to make up for the cost of living increases since 1941 of about 10 per cent—both proposals to be free of stipulation as to prices. The Corporation rejected the Union's proposal for arbitration on the ground that the terms of the proposal would represent an "abdication" by management.

Findings and Recommendations of the Citizens Committee

1. After reading the transcript of the negotiations between General Motors and the U A W-C I O, we believe it would be a contribution to public understanding of the dispute if the transcript were published.

2. The committee was impressed by the serious and statesmanlike approach of the representatives of the Union as shown in the transcript of the negotiations. If President Truman and his advisers had had access to this record, we believe they would have been in a position to insist more firmly on the full use of the collective-bargaining process before suggesting intervention of the Government. We believe that the full possibilities of collective bargaining have not yet been exhausted, . . . We urge that the two parties immediately resume negotiations.

3. The Union's request to participate in a determination of the wage issue on the basis of full knowledge of the basic wage-price-profit relations is not a "taking over" of management. This request is based on a principle widely approved by responsible leaders of business, labor, and government.

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STRIKE REPORT

Walter Duranty once wrote that only two kinds of people know Soviet Russia: those who have been there either for ten years or for ten days. My recent three-day trip to Detroit, made for the sole purpose of investigating and reporting on the General Motors-United Automobile Workers' (CIO) strike situation, qualifies me for neither of these two categories. But it did afford me an opportunity to talk with persons in many different relationships to this vital industrial conflict.

I was especially grateful for the generous and courteous reception given me by officials within both the Union and the Corporation. I spent some time with those on the picket line. I talked with several Presbyterian ministers and with the chairman of the National Citizens Committee whose report appears elsewhere in this issue. I also talked with officials in the local Federation of Labor, the Detroit Council of Social Agencies, and the Detroit Council of Churches. My visit was brief and my interviews informal. What follows is a report of the picture as I saw it and my understanding of the situation.

The Picket Line

In front of the entrances to the acre-large plant a group of ten to fifteen men were walking round and round a fire burning in an old oil can. They had been assigned to picket duty at the headquarters of Local No. 235 where a record was kept by punching their cards. Picketing is carried on from 6 A.M. to midnight in shifts of three hours. It is obligatory on the 4,200 members of the Local and totals nine hours duty a week for each member. Those excused are the sick and the veterans, though many of the latter volunteer. One of these was helping in the soup kitchen where I visited. Here the pickets who have finished their "tour" are served coffee, soup, and doughnuts.

I talked with some of the pickets. They had much to say about the difference between the strike of 1937, when their union was a-borning, and the present one involving greater numbers, larger resources, and a sense of public understanding and support. They also stressed the value to the Union in the large number of women who were employed during the war. Because of this experience the women now understand what the Union is contending against and for. I was particularly taken with the way they dwelt on the necessity for self-discipline on the part of the Union and its

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members, for the shop steward or a Union official who gets angry is deemed incapable of retaining the necessary qualities of leadership.

Rebound from the Past I judge that the Union is being impelled by a fear engendered by the past, both remote and near. It is haunted by the dread of a depression like that of the '30's when wage earners were accused of being communists because they protested against the unemployment that was bringing hunger to their children.

There is a sensitivity in this memory reflected equally in opinion within both the C I O and the A. F. of L. Mass purchasing power is considered a *must* if the well-being of the family and the unity of the nation are to be secure.

Again the memory of their wartime experience is vivid within the Union. No ceiling was placed by Congress upon the income of the stockholder or the farmer; this was reserved to the wage earner alone. In addition the housewife has become price conscious. When the Union officials began talking about the relationship between wages and prices they found that the wage earner and his family had already been educated by their experiences.

Reconversion in the GM plants was started before the strike. Some workers had already seen the new machinery with technological improvements installed. When a Union leader forecasts greater productivity the workers feel that they know what he is talking about.

These were some of the elements in the Union position which came out in the conversations I had. This position may be summarized as follows:

1. There must be no serious reduction in take-home pay. This would mean tragedy both personal and national. Such reduction is apt to come through the elimination of overtime and through downgrading.

2. This calls, in the case of GM, for a 30 per cent increase in wages. Because of the inflationary threat, this wage increase must not be made up by an increase in prices.

3. Such a wage increase must be provided out of the profits of the Corporation, leaving the Corporation, however, an adequate profit.

4. The Union is prepared to accept less than 30 per cent increase if it is proved that this would jeopardize the profit structure of the Corporation; but the facts to sustain such a case must be made available from the records of the Corporation.

Recoil from the Future

If the position of the Union broadly represents a rebound from the past, I gather that that of the Corporation comes from a recoil from the future which it feels is implied in the demands of the Union. When I asked a GM executive what he felt was the main issue of the strike his was a one-word answer: "Socialization." He contended that this is the ultimate end of the course which the Union is pressing for. He elaborated from experience in other fields the cost which society pays for such a result.

Secondly, the Corporation's position is that the demands of the Union impinge upon the necessary prerogatives of management if an enterprise is to be profitable. A business is a delicate mechanism that can be efficiently handled only by those within the process itself and not by outsiders. There is a sensitive balance between costs and prices and profits and other factors which for the good of all must be maintained by management alone.

Thirdly, the point was stressed that management and labor would be guilty of misleading the public if there were to be given an ironclad assurance about prices. There are too many variables, too many unpredictable factors in the total production process for any such assurance to be given.

The Clash of Ideas

And what of the public? This industrial conflict is a clash of men against men, of resources against resources, of ideas against ideas and in the resolving of the latter public opinion will carry great weight.

1. The future of free enterprise came up frequently in many conversations. My impression is that this issue is as much on the mind of labor as it is on the mind of management. But there is a sharp difference in the approach which each group makes to this common issue. The Union tends to stress the *economic basis* for free enterprise: If it is to hold the support of the American people, it must prove its ability to maintain economic security and well-being. This calls for continuing full employment; this means adequate purchasing power which, in turn, rests upon an adequate wage. The position of the Corporation seems to rest more upon a *theoretical basis*: free enterprise means the maximum freedom of management from outside direction, from either government or organized labor so as to operate in a free, rather than a controlled, market.

2. The danger of a depression following upon a boom period is in the minds of all. Broadly speaking the position of management seems to be that matters should be left to work themselves out favoring methods less novel and sensational and more gradual and conservative. The Union feels that danger lies in this course and that the times call for creativeness.

linking and the blazing of new trails of economic and industrial practices. 3. There is a clash of interests that focuses in the strike, but a conflict in which the public emotions may become heavily involved. There is a criticism of the Union in having instigated the strike just when it did. With production as the basis for any discussion of wages, prices, and profits, and with the rising public demand for cars there is the feeling that the Union might have waited for the shape of things to come to reveal itself. Here the public is involved as *consumer*. On the other hand there is a growing awareness that GM is in a position to wait out the strike without a net deficit since industry for a two-year period following the war is assured, through tax rebates, against going into the red. *The New York Times* has reported that if there is not a single car sold because of the strike GM would still end the year with a thirty-three million dollar profit because of this tax rebate provision. Here the public is involved as *taxpayer*.

4. The Union proposals cut across an apparently inevitable circle of increased wages and increased prices which has often been confusing and irritating to the public. Frequently it has seemed too easy for a Union to demand and for a company to grant increased wages because these were simply added to the price and so paid for by the consumer. Ultimately a general price increase neutralizes a general wage increase and actual purchasing power generally ends up where it began.

The position of the UAW is that there is a community of interest between the wage earner and the consumer, without at the same time jeopardizing that of the stockholders. The Corporation tends to take a longer view of this issue, emphasizing that the Union proposals would deaden the spring which makes the wheels of the present economic system go round and would at the same time threaten the survival of the system itself.

Without exception I found agreement that the basic issue in conflict is not that of wages but is the Union's insistence that wages no longer can be settled in isolation from profits and prices, and that this means that the public must be taken into greater confidence by the industry. My last interview was with an official of the Detroit Federation of Labor. His all but final remark to me concurred in this but made explicit what others had implied; namely, that this issue is here to stay as a continuing factor in our economic and industrial life. Its full implications will be better understood through further discussion, but the feeling has taken hold that what is a fair wage is a part of a larger concept in which are likewise involved such questions as what is a fair price and what is a fair profit.—C.P.H.

Strike Vote in Steel

*By A. Donald Davies **

PITTSBURGH is situated in the heart of Presbyterianism; and it is also the heart of America's steel industry. Men and women of every national descent work side by side in this melting pot of the nations. Here the incompetent worker is trained to be proficient. Here creative men contrive new manufacturing procedures. Here are men who control thousands of lives and millions of dollars. Here is a cross section of the people who supply America and much of the world with steel; and in the same group is to be found a cross section of the people who sit in the pews of the Presbyterian Churches in Greater Pittsburgh.

As is well-known by now the union has asked for a wage increase of two dollars a day for the steelworkers. In accordance with the law, the union requested the National Labor Relations Board to conduct strike votes in the companies with whom the union has collective-bargaining agreements.

When the strike issue became intense, students at Western Theological Seminary in Pittsburgh naturally discussed the controversy in long and not always dispassionate bull sessions. Many found that they were sadly uninformed. The rigors of academic life do not allow much time

for studying complex labor problems. But the strike vote, conducted on November 28, 1945, gave Western students an opportunity to gain some firsthand acquaintance with industrial problems.

The N.L.R.B. needed workers help to conduct the vote. When D. E. Culley, Dean of Western, announced that classes would be canceled for a day, fifty Western students along with 350 students from the University of Pittsburgh volunteered to act as election judges. I was one of these.

After each of us had received three hours of instruction we were sworn in as official agents of the N.L.R.B. assigned to polls, and given equipment that would enable us to conduct an efficient and fair vote.

On the morning of the twentieth, Western's young officials awakened at 4:15 A.M.—as do thousands of millmen *every day*—and departed for the polling places. The future ministers of the Church found themselves thrust into a new and strange world. It was a far cry indeed from the hallowed halls of the seminary with orderly rows of bookshelves and well-swept rooms and clean linens, to the grease and odors and heavy smoke of a steel mill.

Voting places were established everywhere. Some of us were located in overheated warehouses, which

* Student, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

thers were in dirty, cold garages. Some established polls in the comfortable pay offices and one fortunate was stationed in the cafeteria. But wherever they were stationed the men learned to know the people who live in this world of industry.

(One student who had always suspected that "Presbyterian" and "management" were synonymous terms discovered to his utter amazement that the two observers at his polling place, one representing the union and one representing management, were both Presbyterians—and both elders! Labor and management, he realized, sit side by side in the same churches, united in the worship of one God.

Naturally on such an occasion the issues between management and labor were much discussed, though as government agents we were required to remain strictly neutral. Some of us were occasionally repulsed by the uncouthness of various workers. Others were amazed by the idealism of the company and of the union.

We were perfectly free, however, and found it a unique opportunity, to talk with the men about the Christian Church. In some sections it was apparent that many of the workers

had not been reached by the Churches. In other sections we were delighted to find, through conversation with the men, that the Churches were doing a good job.

Some workers, upon discovering that we were embryonic ministers, expressed strong feelings that the Protestant Church should take a stand not only on labor problems, but on legislative issues and international affairs as well. As one worker put it, "Other Churches do it—why not one unified stand!"

Many times during the day men readily admitted that they were confused and indicated a desire to learn more about their own Churches, what they teach and what they stand for. Most of the seminary students were persuaded that these men want to be confronted with the basic religious truths set forth in the Bible and the relation of these truths to all the basic problems of modern life.

At the appointed hour we closed our polls, counted the ballots, and made our reports to the N.L.R.B. officials. And having completed a big job, we returned to the seminary thinking how much bigger than we realized is the job of a Gospel ministry in today's world.

U. N. O. and the People

It is a basic idea of democracy that in the last analysis, when citizens are informed, their decisions will be right. The success of the U.N.O. Charter rests on an informed public opinion. Only on this basis can we "unite our strength to maintain international peace and security."

—From *We, the peoples . . .*, American Association for the United Nations.

UNO — General Assembly

The United Nations Organization is no longer something to be voted upon or planned for. It is now, itself, operating. With less fanfare than the San Francisco Conference but with equal significance to mankind the United Nations Organization began its life on January 10, 1946, with the first meeting of its General Assembly.

Between June 26, 1945, when the San Francisco Conference adjourned, and January 10, 1946, when the General Assembly met in London two processes had been going on. One was the ratification of the charter by those nations whose delegates had signed it in San Francisco. By October 24 there had been a sufficient number of ratifications to bring the United Nations Organization into being and since then the full fifty-one ratifications have been deposited.

The other process was being carried forward by the Preparatory Committee appointed by the San Francisco Conference to form the bridge between it and the actual starting of the organization itself. Working intensively and in excellent spirit during the fall and early winter it laid the groundwork for the history-making occasion which took place in January.

The General Assembly is the policy-making body of the United Nations Organization, democratically constituted with each member nation having one vote, and to many observers carrying within it the real promise of the organization. One

has to go back to the first meeting of the assembly of the League of Nations to find anything comparable for fulfilling the hopes and aspirations of mankind for peace, and the comparison is in favor of the present venture in international co-operation. This time the two mightiest powers, the U.S.A. and the USSR, are part of this international organization and the organization itself is fuller and more penetrating in its provisions for organized international co-operation.

The work of this first General Assembly will be largely organizational in character, but this makes it none the less important, for the beginning will be made in the pattern that will growingly take shape. In addition to the choice of its permanent site within the United States the General Assembly will elect the personnel of the Secretariat, the non-permanent members of the Security Council, and others.

The General Assembly will also decide upon the constitution of certain commissions to implement the work of its several bodies such as the proposed Commission on Human Rights and will consider the proposal from the Big Five for a commission dealing with the control of atomic energy.

With tasks such as these completed the United Nations Organization will have grown beyond merely its General Assembly to a world body for collective action for international peace and justice for all nations.

POLITICAL ACTION

The Minimum Wage Bill

The Pepper-Hook Bill—S 1349; HR 14—so-called Minimum Wage Bill, has at this time (January 10) a good chance of being adopted by Congress. This bill provides for three things: an increase in the basic minimum wage from 40 cents to 60 cents the first year after it becomes the law, to 70 cents the second year, and to 80 cents the third year; an extension of coverage for workers beyond that offered by the Fair Labor Standard Act to include such workers as those engaged in food processing and canning of all types, and also includes seamen; and help in controlling child labor in industry and business. For further information write Capital National Committee for Fair Minimum Wage, 130 Third Street, S.E., Washington 3, D.C.

FEPC Faces a Crisis!

The General Assembly, anticipating a situation that might arise at the conclusion of war activities, passed a resolution urging that the President's Fair Employment Practices Committee be given legislative sanction rather than depend for its existence upon executive appointments. Because of lack of funds the President's committee has been forced to close seven of the ten regional offices as of December 15.

Any who desire to uphold the action of the General Assembly will want to set forth renewed effort to secure passage of legislation that will establish a permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission. S. 101 is high on the Senate calendar and can be brought to the floor for a vote of administration and Republican leaders take the initiative. In the House, only 100 signatures are needed on the discharge petition No. 4, which will release H.R. 2232 from the Rules Committee and permit debate and vote upon it.

You may write to Senator Alben Barkley

and Senator Wallace White, requesting an immediate date for Senate floor action on S. 101. Ask your Senators, the Senators from your state, to vote for cloture (a two thirds majority vote required to limit debate and prevent filibustering) and urge them to vote for the bill when it comes before the Senate. Make certain that your Congressman has signed the discharge petition No. 4, assuring his support to H.R. 2232.

The National Health Program

At this writing it seems that hearings will begin possibly in mid-January on S. 1606 and H.R. 4370—the bills introduced to carry into effect the President's recommendation for a national health program. In the Senate the bill is being considered by the Committee on Education and Labor, Senator Murray, Chairman. Some of the facts in the national situation which call for such a program as the President has asked for are presented in this issue of SOCIAL PROGRESS, pages 11ff. Other information in regard to the bill may be secured by writing to Senator Wagner's office, the Senate Office Building, Washington, D.C., asking for "questions and answers about the prepaid medical care provisions of the National Health Act of 1945." In the November issue of the *Social Action* magazine there is an article by Senator Pepper and others on "A Health Program for America." This magazine may be secured for 15 cents from the Council for Social Action, 289 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

Peacetime Conscription

At the time of the Christmas adjournment of the House Military Affairs Committee 70 individuals and organizations had requested opportunity to testify. The proponents were given 13½ days, the opposition 7½ days. Most of those yet to be heard from would speak in opposition.

Sanctuary

Meditation on the Lord's Prayer

This is the second of a series of five meditations on the Lord's Prayer by Rev. Stephen J. Mathers, M.A., minister of St. James-Bond United Church, Toronto, Canada, and used in the vesper services of the International Conference on Adult Education at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, during the summer of 1940.

Theme: "Thy kingdom come.

Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven."

Call to Worship:

Leader: "The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; the world, and they that dwell therein. For he hath founded it upon the seas, and established upon the floods."—Ps. 24: 1, 2.

People: Let us then "enter into his gates with thanksgiving, and into his courts with praise: . . . for the Lord is good.

Invocation:

Hear us, O God, when we cry unto thee. Be thou the wisdom of our understanding, and the light of our judgment as we wait before thee. Bring thy word home to the heart of each one that we may be led to repent for our sins and to accept gladly, the inestimable riches of Jesus Christ, in whose name we pray.

Hymn: "Lord of Light, Whose Name Outshineth."

Scripture Lesson: Micah 4: 1-4.

Rev. 21: 1-7.

Meditation:

Let us again move slowly in thought around this second part of the Lord's Prayer
"Thy kingdom come.

Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven."

The ethical teaching of Jesus is for this world—to find expression in the personal lives and the relation of men and women, boys and girls, who live on this planet. We move on in the conviction, the assured faith, that the kingdoms of this world shall become the Kingdom of our God and of his Christ—and he shall reign forever and ever.

We cannot escape the practical application of this petition by spiritualizing it in any way.

Take the conviction that the ethical teaching of Jesus is a permanent ethic for this world, out of our religion, and we are left with a futile endeavor to snatch a few branches from the burning, let the rest go to the devil and wait for the kingdom which is to come, in another existence, under purely spiritual conditions.

We are praying for this world when we say, *Thy kingdom come.*

There are many interpretations of "The Kingdom of God." Let us think of it now as a society in which his righteousness finds free expression, where his will

fully obeyed, where his love is seen in the relation of man to man, both individual and corporate, and where men are enabled to do this because they have come to know God as a Father and to live with him as sons—children of God, his heirs, joint heirs with Jesus Christ. The prophets, as we saw in Micah, dreamed of this day—it was part of the vision of John; it is seen in Jesus' teaching.

The righteousness of God expressed:

in the homes of our land, in the relation of husband and wife, in the relation of parent and child.

in the economic structure of society:

—wages, hours of work, conditions of work;

—relation of capital and labor;

—distribution of money and necessities.

in the social structure of society:

—the plans and purposes of education;

—the public provisions for health;

—the care of the sick and aged;

—social problems such as alcohol, gambling;

—the provision of recreation.

in the relation of nation to nation:

—of race to race;

—of conqueror to conquered;

—of majorities to minorities.

all these areas of life God's Kingdom of right relations is to be established.

Thy will be done in earth":

We have moved a long way from the place where we accepted trial and bereavement, in a subdued manner, saying, "It is God's will; we must bear it." The two great world wars have driven us, for no one could look at them and say, "This is God's will—accept it."

Rather, we think of God's will being for man's good. It is for us to read God's revelation of his will and to fulfill his purpose. The way of God is to do us good—if we disobey we suffer: but that suffering is for our good. God stands by to help us to bear it; but it is not his will—it may indeed be his judgment.

So to pray this prayer means that we seek to discover God's will, to understand it, to live by it in all the relationships of our lives:

What is God's will regarding our property,

—our money,

—our talents,

—our time.

What is God's will regarding our town or city,

—our country,

—the nations.

What is God's will regarding the common task of daily life.

What is God's will regarding education,

—opportunity,

—health.

"Thy will be done."

Note the complete and perfect obedience that is expected—"as it is in heaven."

"Thy kingdom come.

Let us pray then:

Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven."

O God, Father of an infinite majesty who lovedst us before we loved thee, and didst reveal thy love in Jesus Christ, that any who believe on him should not perish but have everlasting life, we thank thee for the ever-increasing vision of thy righteousness and an ever-deepening understanding of thy will.

We thank thee for the story of that relationship kept for us in the Bible, which thou didst speak in divers manners unto the fathers in times past, then in thy Spirit thou didst make thy righteous will known: since his time on earth the Spirit has led us into further truth as we have been learning to do thy will and follow thy righteousness in the changing ways of life.

Forgive us, O God, the many times when, knowing thy will and the demand of thy Kingdom, we have chosen to do other things and to walk in other paths. Help us to understand how thy love, through thy law, causes us then to suffer, and may we, seeing thy judgments abroad amongst us, be turned from our evil to do good.

Grant unto us a vision of thy Kingdom—open to us its triumphant beauty: lead us to teach us also what it means in terms of the common people and the common things of the world. May we know that the righteousness of thy Kingdom is thy will. Help us actively to seek to do thy will in every area of our life, in the economic life of our lands, in our social undertakings, that peace may in truth come upon earth and thy Kingdom be established among us.

May we do thy will as the angels before thy throne obey thee. Amen.

Health Hazards in Rural America

(Continued from page 13)

from close to forty different Indian tribes who have been prepared to help to meet the health problems of their people. In Puerto Rico graduates from the School of Nursing, the first that was organized on the island, are in great demand for Government hospitals and public-health work.

Two smaller hospitals are maintained in New Mexico and Georgia. The Embudo Hospital in the heart of the Spanish American section of New Mexico specializes in the care of mothers and children. Here too an extensive field program curtailed by the war will be resumed as soon as personnel can be found. In Georgia, the Gillespie Hospital is the only one for Negro patients in a radius of over thirty miles. Here too a community health program of clinics and health

classes is being carried on with special reference this year to a survey that is being conducted under the auspices of the Kellogg Foundation and the Public Health Service. The local county is one of several so-called "Spot" counties which are being intensively studied to determine health needs and how to meet them.

Obviously, such mission projects—these, constructive as they are, are but the proverbial drop, not in the bucket, but in the sea of need. No organization, or group of organizations, no county, in some cases even no state, can hope to meet the need for medical care in regions as underprivileged as many of those in which the Board of National Missions is working. The problem can be solved only if it is looked at nationally and met from national resources. No other course is open if our people are to enjoy not only liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but life itself.

Did Hitler Win?

(Continued from page 2)

nciples and we have lost the individual generalities. America needs to meet these individuals who have endured and survived the lethal tortures of Nazi inhumanity and who are now enduring the hopelessness of our dallying with the question, "Just how Christian can we afford to be with these people?"

Perhaps we should not be too harsh with ourselves for losing sight of the individual sufferer. The methods of torture and murder were so fiendishly devised and the numbers who fell under those methods fantastically large that we were halted in a fascinated stupor before the gas chambers and flesh hooks, were confused by the blur of writhing millions, and were bewildered by the undistinguishable banisters of huge masses. It was impossible to give a name to each naked body and to each despairing cry. We shuddered at so great a suffering. But we can soon stop shuddering if the suffering remains a nameless mass. The shuddering becomes a resolute compassionate ministry of love only when that suffering is broken down for us into Marys and Johns and Abrahams and Rebeccas. I could give many interesting illustrations of the suffering of the Jews. Let me confine myself to only two illustrations—one of a Jewish chaplain in the American Army who lost his family in the Nazi plague, and one about Leon and his mother. The chaplain knows very little about what happened, but he does know how his mother died. He was shot by the SS, but he died fatally. Dumped into a grave, he was buried alive when he begged for another show. I did not have the heart to ask the chaplain whether the request was granted. I am worried for the well-being of this chaplain. Weighed down by his personal grief, pressed in from every side by the tragedy and suffering of his people, and completely frustrated by the

odd attitude of the nation in whose Army he serves, he is a living cry of pain. In the middle of his services the thing overwhelms him and he weeps. There is no peace for him, no satisfaction in the end of a world war, no victory to be celebrated. His is the hurt of hopelessness. It is his lot to live in a world dominated by Christian powers.

Someone brought over Leon, a soft-eyed and gangling blond boy, the kind of child that many of us servicemen are hoping to return to before long and envelop in paternal embraces. "Here is a rare thing," said the chaplain, "a Jewish child." I was startled, even as I loved the boy. Why, children were the most common phenomenon that we found in strife-torn Europe, no matter how battered the city. But he was right—there were almost no children among these refugees. Jewish children have been gassed, unborn, or unconceived. They just aren't.

This lad was alive only because a kindly Ukrainian Gentile had taken him and loved him as his own, while his mother clung to life in a concentration camp. By one of those happy coincidences that seem tinged with the mercy of God, the mother and son were reunited after her liberation.

The magnitude of their suffering has been terrific. The chaplain's father, Leon's mother, and thousands of others have survived a hell beyond our imagination and comprehension, and yet they are less wanted than the broken-down tanks that we are carefully gathering up all over Germany, repairing and sheltering against the weather like beloved old pensioners.

Before we left the refugees, they sang the "Song of Buchenwald" for us. I was tremendously moved by the music of the song and the spirit of the singers, but not until I had the words translated did I realize what I had experienced. Here was a song born directly from the anguish and despair of Buchenwald, and expressing a courage that was the imperishable will to live of a wondrous people.

Equal Job Opportunity

(Continued from page 7)

The combined efforts of Government agencies, employers, and unions vastly improved the position of minority group workers over what it had been when the war started. At the time Japan capitulated, every twelfth American war worker was a Negro or a Mexican American. In the brief war years in which they enjoyed industrial jobs, they doubled the number of their members qualified for skilled or semiskilled jobs.

The million and a half nonwhite workers who found places in war industries were matched comparably by the 300,000 who were in Federal service on V-J Day. Government itself in 1942 had not been a model employer in so far as Negroes were concerned. But by 1944 almost twelve per cent of all Federal employees were Negro, and the proportion employed in clerical and professional positions had substantially increased.

Perhaps the most significant figures are these: in July, 1942, Negroes comprised only 2.5 per cent of those employed in plants reporting to the War Manpower Commission; in November, 1944, that percentage had risen to 8.3. The question is whether or not the latter figure represents merely temporary wartime use of the industrial skills.

Only a few months have passed since Japan collapsed. It is too early to make a final judgment. Yet the evidence so far at hand must be described as disturbing.

It is to be expected that more Negroes will be displaced proportionately than white workers, since Negroes by and large entered war industry late and have a relatively poor seniority status. Of the first 220,000 workers laid off in Detroit, some 42,000 were Negroes. Many of these are leaving for their homes out of the state, but the majority will probably remain in Detroit. The question is whether they will share the waiting period and the

eventual reconversion jobs with white workers, or whether they will find available only totally unskilled jobs, irrespective of trades learned during the war.

In the Southwest a great aircraft center was closed down by V-J Day. Five thousand Mexican Americans and 1,800 Negroes were suddenly faced with displacement or with certainty of eventual dismissal. In Kansas City, four plants released 5,000 Negroes. In St. Louis, great ammunition and aircraft plants which utilized thousands of Negro war workers have closed down. These are the fortunes of war. All the workers expected it. For again the question is, Will all cutback workers have an equally fair chance when jobs again become available? If wartime experience is a guide, minority group workers will not have that equal chance. The signs are contrariwise.

In one great Midwestern city, for example, there soon will be great activity in the garment, shoe, textile, and chemical industries. The Negro heretofore now has a scant foothold, if any, in these industries. Also in this city are thousands of Negroes already displaced from war plants where most of them received their first and only industrial training. The peacetime industries of this and other war industry cities will soon have to make a choice between discrimination and no discrimination in peacetime employment.

I am not prepared to become prophetic in terms of this or that number of millions who may be unemployed during the transition period. Whatever the figure may be, and no matter how speedily white workers become peacetime workers, it is certain that minorities are in special peril of being downgraded, and not through a scientific selection of qualified persons.

Over the war years charges of discrimination within Government service have amounted to 25 per cent of FEPC's cases. Because all branches of Government service were committed to a nondiscrimination policy, those cases found to be valid have

generally yielded to treatment. It has been estimated that at the peak there were some 300,000 Negroes in Government service. But it should be noted that the bulk of these were workers in the Army, Air Force and Navy shore establishments and therefore subject to sharp cutbacks. Of the Negro workers remaining in the Federal Government, many are employed in temporary war agencies. The permanent gains of Negroes in Federal service during the war are not so impressive in numbers, therefore, as they are in placement at higher skills than heretofore. I hope and believe this gain will not be lost.

Since V-J Day, many Government controls have been lifted or relaxed and assistance has been placed on voluntary community action to achieve results during reconversion. In respect to FEPC, the progress made during actual hostilities cannot continue, but will retrogress, unless the communities at once accept their responsibility and unless the American people as a whole, through Congress, implement the national policy of non-discrimination.

Communities have a primary responsibility. While the situation has not yet developed to test the ability of war production cities to meet this problem, it cannot fail to do so soon. Throughout the war years some 750,000 Negroes have either migrated from the South to the North or from farms to war production centers within the South. The permanently increased population of great war production centers, both North and South, poses a problem which the next year must decide.

No discussion of this kind can avoid the possible effects of discrimination on the relationship between labor and management. Race was used as a factor in strikes that broke out after the First World War. During World War II there were more than a hundred strikes over racial issues at a time when jobs were

plentiful and when labor-management relationships had been stabilized by Government action. In 53 of these strikes FEPC, asked to lend its assistance, aided in quick settlement. To permit minority group workers now to become a disproportionately large part of the unemployed, even though it is transitory unemployment, is to invite their use as strikebreakers and to inject into already delicate situations the added racial hazard.

I am conscious of having listed here many of the gloomier sides of this question and of having projected some grim possibilities. Not to gloss the matter over seems imperative at this time. In equal candor I can say that great gains have been made in educating people against discrimination by means of Government intervention. I link "education" and "intervention" because experience has shown the best results where a third party has firmly moved against discrimination. Two things the war has proved: First, that Americans generally will abandon discriminatory practices (and be glad they did later) as soon as their minds are convinced of the justice and the utility of equal job opportunity for all. Secondly, the reluctance of workers to accept minority group workers among them disappears and gives way to friendly relations once the step is taken.

There are hundreds of instances in FEPC experience to prove both of those points. The great Church congregations, labor unions, and other national organizations have endorsed this principle of equal job opportunity, for they have seen with their own eyes that it is a workable one. This national consciousness of the problem, and a corresponding determination to solve it, represents an immeasurable gain over all past periods in our history. We are resolved not to complete another cycle, as we once did, of calling upon our minority groups to help with a war and then excluding them from the opportunities of creating a lasting peace.

The Importance of Russian-American Understanding

(Continued from page 16)

John Bennett says: "The Russians know full well the bitter hostility against them in the most widely read American newspapers. They know the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in America and its hatred of communism. They know the strength of capitalism here and the tendency of many capitalists to see in Russia chiefly a threat to themselves. They know the anti-Russian feeling in important Army and Navy circles."

Furthermore, American policies in the support of reaction in Argentina, Spain, and elsewhere during the past few years have given good ground for Russian doubt of the sincerity of our anti-Fascism. Even more, we might well ask ourselves, supposing Russia asked for complete control of island bases a few miles off the coast of California ostensibly for protection against Mexico. We would doubt the sincerity of their motives. That is how our demand for the bases in the Pacific looks to Russia.

4. With this in mind, we can help to understand and spread understanding of Russian actions in terms of our own actions. They, like ourselves, are seeking security, and, like ourselves, tend to put their first faith in unilateral security and only secondary confidence in the United Nations Organization. We must reverse this procedure and throw all our weight behind world organization. We should be ready to leave the question of the control of the Pacific islands to the Trusteeship section of the United Nations Organization. Then we shall be in a position to expect Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Russia to do the same with their colonial territories and spheres of influence.

5. We can do all in our power to make clear the truth that there is no basic conflict between Russian and American interests.

Both of us are relatively self-sufficient in economic terms, and neither needs fear the other except when hatred is developed on artificial grounds of ideology.

6. We can support and aggressively promote an extensive program of Russian-American understanding. If suspicion can be lessened, we can be confident the Russians will open the door to Americans getting firsthand information of the country. We can promote cultural change in a variety of ways, such as exchange of students, exchange of artists, exchange of literature, support of an institute of Pacific relations.

U. S. and U. S. S. R. Can Co-operate

At San Francisco, John Foster Dulles in private conversation admitted that it was quite true that we had some difficulty in understanding Russia because her motives were not always clear. Nevertheless, he had seen no evidence of a lack of sincerity on the part of the Russians, nor any indication that they were not working for the United Nations Organization with honesty of purpose and good faith. Mr. Harold Stassen said that, while he did not profess to be a historian, he knew of no instance where the Russians had repudiated any agreement where the terms were clearly understood. He believed the Russians were sincere and working in good faith. Both were convinced of the possibility of co-operation with Russia and are concerned that we do all in our power to make such co-operation possible.

Adventure in Christian Fellowship. There is still time for Westminster Fellowship (Presbyterian young people's) groups to plan interracial and interfaith activities that will enable them to compete for awards of \$50 or \$30. The awards will be used to send young people to summer conferences, work conferences, and youth caravans. For information write to Director of Summer Conferences, 1105 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

The G M—U A W Dispute

(Continued from page 23)

though the setting of actual prices remains a managerial function, at a time when there is a threat of inflation, the level of prices becomes a matter of legitimate public concern.

4. If collective bargaining fails to result in a settlement, we recommend that a fact-finding commission appointed by the President be authorized and directed to determine what increase in wages can be given on the basis of the Corporation's ability to pay without increase in prices. The Corporation's ability to meet a wage increase is a sound factor in the determination of wages, both in good times and bad.

5. From the record it is clear that the Union in its refusal to accept a wage increase that involves price increase has treated the whole matter of collective bargaining to a new high level by insisting at the advancement of labor's interest shall not be made at the expense of the public. The Union has shown a sense of social responsibility that is certainly to be commended. The public has a vital interest in holding the line of present prices against inflation.

6. Because of confusion in the public mind, the committee wishes to emphasize that the record of the proceedings clearly shows that the Union's proposition was not 10 per cent or else." The transcript repeatedly shows that the Union's 30 per cent demand was subject to reconsideration if and when management proved the 10 per cent wage increase was impossible without a raise in prices.

7. Considerable data from the General Motors Corporation and U. S. Government reports were submitted by the Union in support of its contention that the Corporation can afford a substantial wage increase without raising prices. Outside of

a flat denial supported by figures based upon sources not open to the Union, to this committee, or to the public, no convincing evidence has been submitted by the Corporation to show that the Union's wage proposal cannot be met.

8. While future profits cannot be computed with absolute certainty, it is common practice to base the prospects of them upon experience and estimated volume and costs. The Union is asking that wages be projected in such a forecast as other cost factors and profits are projected. It is the consensus of the committee that the Union is making a legitimate claim in asking that wages be negotiated in terms of future expectations.

9. With regard to the Union's 24-hour ultimatum on the acceptance of arbitration, the public should be reminded that the ultimatum was on the question of the willingness of the Corporation to arbitrate and not on the basic wage demands, which would have required longer consideration.

10. The committee reviewed carefully the Union's supporting argument for the maintenance of take-home pay. It was based on the thesis that purchasing power must be commensurate with production. The committee agrees with this principle of wages since without adequate purchasing power to buy the products of industry there can be neither full employment nor general prosperity.

The National Citizens Committee

Chairman: Dr. Henry Hitt Crane, Central Methodist Church, Detroit, Michigan.

Vice-Chairman: Dr. Harry A. Overstreet, College of the City of New York, New York.

Secretary: Mrs. J. Birdsall Calkins, National President, Y.W.C.A., New York City.

The Workshop

Detroit—Interracial Church. An interracial Church has been established by the Detroit Council of Churches and is making very excellent progress. A weekly service of worship is conducted each Sunday afternoon under the leadership of three Christian ministers—a Caucasian, a Negro, and a Japanese-American. Rev. William H. Molbon, pastor of St. John's Presbyterian Church, Detroit, is one of the three ministers.

The members of this interracial congregation represent every racial group in Detroit, and their fellowship in the midst of such acute racial tensions is a striking demonstration of Christian unity. Most of them also retain their membership, and continue to be active, in their own neighborhood Churches.

Attendance at the Interracial Church has increased steadily since the Church was founded last fall, and in December the group held their first Church dinner, which will probably become a regular event in the life of this new congregation.

Churches of this kind are to be found in many cities, and some have been functioning for many years. However, the establishment of this new fellowship in Detroit, which has been torn with inter-group strife and racial bigotry, and the progress which the Church is making, are most encouraging and should challenge other Christian leaders throughout the country.

Princeton Seminary—S. E. A. At Princeton Seminary a small group of student leaders have met occasionally during the past months to plan a campus program of Social Education and Action. On the evening of December 12, 1945, the program was launched. At least sixty students appeared at the meeting

which had been called for those who were interested. President John A. Mackay spoke to the group on the Christian basis of Social Education and Action, and Rev. Nevin E. Kendell, Fellow in the Department of Social Education and Action, discussed specific activities and projects which they might undertake.

The following has been adopted as "Princeton Seminary Social Education and Action Manifesto":

We believe that Christ as the redeemer of all mankind must invade every area of life: individual and collective.

We believe, therefore, that the economic, social, and political areas of life are subject to His judgment; that this judgment is redemptive; that the Church is called to witness to this redemptive judgment.

We believe that the Church has failed to fulfill adequately this function in our day and has often been a source of confusion in social issues.

We believe that in this day of social crisis the Church must be the conscience of the world, calling men and institutions to moral responsibility.

We believe that this moral responsibility must be assumed in the realm of social justice by acting against the misuses of an economic system producing want in the midst of plenty, against selfishness in social relationships, against the exploitation of human personality, against discrimination in economic opportunity, against national imperialism and international hatreds.

Therefore, we believe that we here at Princeton Seminary as ministers to students must be sensitive to the human situation; and that we must study the social structure and learn to apply Christian truth.

In order to implement these purposes

propose the following general goals for the year:

1. To study the actual problems—by making pertinent literature available, by engaging competent speakers to the campus, by arranging for field trips, so that our opinions may be informed and intelligent.
2. To study the relation of the Church to the social order.
3. To arouse a social conscience.
4. To search for a new understanding of the social implications of the Gospel of Christ.

Refugees Well-oriented Americans.

An overwhelming majority of refugees, despite greater adjustment difficulties than are faced by ordinary immigrants in normal times, have become well-integrated into American community life and are now self-supporting, reports Maurice R. Davie, of Yale University, and Samuel Koenig, of Brooklyn College, in *The Refugees Are Now Americans*. This pamphlet (10 cents) published by the Public Affairs Committee, Rockefeller Plaza, N.Y. 20, is based on a comprehensive nation-wide study conducted by the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe.

Fully half of the refugees have been granted citizenship, most of the rest being in various stages of getting it," the authors state. Refugees have contributed substantially to American business and industry and have given employment to many Americans, the study shows.

In numerous instances they have fought with them or developed new processes, and started the manufacture of products hitherto either unknown here or imported, scientific instruments, precision tools, and synthetic industrial products. . . . The diamond industry, for example, was transferred almost completely from the Netherlands and Belgium to this country."

American communities, facing a shortage in physicians, have also gained by the coming of refugee doctors, and American medicine has benefited by the achievements of those refugees in medical research, clinical work, and teaching.

Results of a special survey made in forty-one states answer American doctors' complaints of competition. The total number of refugee physicians, not all of whom were practitioners, was only 3 per cent of the number of doctors in America, the survey shows.

"Reports from communities throughout the country reveal that refugees take part in all kinds of community activities. The striking extent to which refugees have fitted into American community life may be explained partly by their relatively small numbers and wide distribution, partly by their superior educational and cultural background, but particularly by their desire to become assimilated."

During the period of 1933-1944, the total number of immigrants admitted was smaller than at any other period during the last century. "Only 16.8 per cent of the total number of aliens from Europe admissible under our quota law have entered the United States," the authors point out.

Jobs for Negroes. Full employment, adequate housing, FEPC, were discussed at a recent conference in New York City. The sponsoring organizations included local branches of the Y.W.C.A., National Council of Negro Women, N.A.A.C.P., The Urban League, A.F. of L., C I O, and the National Negro Congress. Why not get together all the organizations in your community and discuss these same subjects.

An Exhibit—The Negro in American Life. A Factual Photographic Exhibit of 26 large placards, each 20 x 30 inches, depicting the Negro as farmer,

worker, writer, or hero may be obtained without charge, except for paying the handling charges, by writing to the Council Against Intolerance in America, 17 E. 42d Street, New York 17.

American Indians. The following resolutions were passed by the Executive Committee of the Home Missions Council, regarding work with Indians in this country:

"1. That the Home Missions Council go on record as advocating the release of the American Indians from Federal supervision in from ten to fifteen years, this to mean full citizenship rights for the Indians on the same basis as that granted other American citizens.

"2. That the Home Missions Council favor the granting of full citizenship to Indian Veterans of World War II, including release from restrictions on trust-held land which at present practically nullify the provisions for loans to Indians under the G.I. Bill of Rights.

"3. That the Home Missions Council request the United States Public Health Service to make a thorough study of Peyote, considering especially the pathological aspects (this is in keeping with the recommendation of the Select Committee House Report 2091).

"4. The Council authorized the Indian Committee to take such steps as are necessary to supplement the above actions, all of which are in the realm of legislation and social action."

Medical Care. Among the films of interest is *Second Freedom*, which is concerned with health insurance and housing. For catalogue describing these films write to the British Information Service, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20. Order also *Survey Midmonthly*, October, 1945, "From Yesterday to Tomorrow in the Voluntary Health Movement." 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N.Y. 30 cents; and also *Who Can Afford Health?*

by Beulah Amidon. Public Affairs Pamphlet, No. 27. Write Physicians' Forum, 510 Madison Ave., New York 22, for material favoring medical care through Government insurance; write National Physicians Committee, Pittsfield Bldg., Chicago, Ill., for material opposing medical care through Government insurance. *Order Health Care for Americans*, C.E. Winslow, Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 104. 10 cents; Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20.

The Church and Industrial Relations. The Federated Churches of Youngstown, Ohio, reported the following use of our pamphlet *The Church and Industrial Relations*: Mr. Holt writes: "Some time ago I had a meeting of the Labor Day Committee, to which were invited several members of our labor unions, and I gave them a copy of your pamphlet.

"One of the members of the Union thought it was so fine that he sent it to the Labor League for Human Rights, New York, which is a relief agency of the American Federation of Labor. Consequently it was read by Reginald Kennedy, Director of Community Services, and he asked that we furnish them with twenty copies to be distributed among their members. Will you kindly send us twenty-five more to be put in the hands of our labor leaders here."

A Novel Idea for Social Action. "To help citizens make their opinions known to Government representatives," the Muncie, Indiana, Public Library supplies letterheads and envelopes already addressed to district representatives and state Senators. Stamps are sold upon request letters are mailed by the librarian. A large bulletin board in the library displays a list of questions before Congress and contains hints for letter writing."—Reported by Postwar Information Exchange, Inc., New York

About Books

Black Metropolis, by St. Clair Drake and Horace B. Cayton. Harcourt, Brace & Company. \$5.00.

Black Metropolis is a big book—809 pages—about a big problem. Thirteen million of us Americans are Negroes. Since the Civil War a steady flow of migrants has brought at least four million Negroes from the South (mostly from the rural South) into Northern cities. The migration continues, and another decade or two will probably find a majority of America's Negro population in the North.

This book is a study of those who have come to Chicago where among all the cities of the nation the Negro population is second only to the famed Harlem of New York. The authors write with unique authority, both being outstanding social scientists and both products of this migration.

The story starts with the beginning of Chicago for, as the Indians used to say, "the first white man to settle at Chicago was a Negro"—Point de Saible, a French-speaking Negro. The authors sketch briefly the history of Chicago from its first settler up to the middle of the Second World War.

Then, against that background, we witness the "Flight to Freedom," escaped slaves pouring into the city in the early 40's. As abolitionist sentiment increased Chicago became the "Union Station" of the underground railroad.

When the Civil War began there were a thousand Negroes living in Chicago—in a small city. Within a decade the Negro community—the Black Belt—had begun to emerge as a city within a city, although there was less residential segregation than at the present time and Negroes continued to live in almost every section of Chicago until the First World War.

Most of the book is devoted to an in-

tensive study of this Negro community, now numbering at least 370,000. That study, based on a vast amount of research, is so thorough that it has been hailed by competent reviewers as a landmark in the development of social anthropology.

Life in the Black Belt is viewed from every possible perspective. Housing and employment are the two areas where discrimination is most obvious and where it has the most disastrous effects on Negro life. Both subjects are treated thoroughly. One of the best sections is on the role of Negro workers in industrial conflict, first generally as strikebreaker, later and increasingly as co-worker and fellow union member.

The Negro press, Churches, race leaders, protest organizations, social clubs, and Negro business are carefully analyzed. The class structure of the Negro community, the differing ways of life, the attitudes of these classes toward one another and their attitudes toward the white world are described in exhaustive detail.

The introduction to the book is a remarkable essay by Richard Wright, who, writes, "Drake came from the South, Cayton from the Northwest, and I went to Chicago as a migrant from Mississippi. And there in that great iron city, that impersonal, mechanical city, amid the steam, the smoke, the snowy winds, the blistering suns; there, in that self-conscious city, that city so deadly dramatic and stimulating, we caught whispers of the meaning that life could have, and we were pushed and pounded by facts much too big for us."

Black Metropolis is a great book. It fully deserves the warm reception it has been accorded in the liberal press and the wide reading that it is certain to receive.—N.E.K.

Overcoming Anti-Semitism, by Solomon A. Fineberg. Harpers. \$2.00.

Dr. Fineberg, formerly a rabbi and now the Community Consultant of the American Jewish Committee, has addressed this book primarily to Jews, his co-religionists. Its philosophy and advice concerning the best methods of combating anti-Semitism are as varied as the conditions of community life.

It is clear from his discussion that many of the people who have been trying to combat anti-Semitism have chosen devices and means that make them the unwitting allies of the anti-Semites.

The book is full of sound advice, based on a profound understanding of human psychology, particularly the psychology of prejudice, and it would be useful to those who are attempting to overcome prejudice against any group.

While the book is addressed to Jews, it should hold considerable interest for responsible Christian citizens. One wonders, indeed, whether the book should not be addressed to us Christians, for it is we who must ultimately decide whether anti-Semitism will be overcome, or will be permitted to prevail against a discredited Gospel and a defeated democracy.—N.E.K.

One Nation, by Wallace Stegner and the editors of *Look*. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$3.75.

This book is a study of the eight minorities who together make up the majority of Americans: Filipinos, Japanese-Americans, Chinese Americans, Mexican Americans, Indians, Negroes, and the religious minorities, Catholics and Jews. Discrimination against these groups is much written about, but *One Nation* is refreshingly different.

The authors have employed a comparatively new medium. Superb photography and a well-written text are wedded so completely that the tragic statistics of suffering and poverty and oppression

veritably come to life—in the shabby cropper cabin, in the rat-infested tenement alleys, and in the faces of hungry children huddled about a barren table in a one-room "kitchenette."

The book is based on the best facts and information that is available and contains vital statistics concerning each minority group. But more important, when one has read this book he feels, though he has visited each group, in their homes and schools and where they work, as though he had talked with the people and heard from their own lips the story of their struggle against poverty and discrimination.

It is not a pleasant story for the most part, though each section includes an account of some individuals and families who have somehow overcome the barriers of discrimination and have made notable contributions to our common life.

Religious leaders will find many uses for this book. Each section could be used as the basis for group study and discussion—with adults or young people. It is the kind of book that we can place in the hands of people who have never given serious thought to this problem. We can be confident that if they study the book they will finish, and that reading it will make a difference.—N.E.K.

One God—The Ways We Worship Him, by Florence Mary Fitch. Lippincott, Lee & Shepard Co. \$2.00.

Most religious observances seem so strange and mysterious to outside observers. Children are especially aware of differences between the religious practices of their family and those of other groups, and these differences frequently give rise to fears—fear of the men and women in strange clothes, of the huge mysterious buildings that we never enter, of rituals that are spoken in strange languages. These fears are no doubt one cause of the serious and increasing tensions among religious groups.

in order to help American boys and girls to understand and appreciate the religion of their neighbors, Miss Fitch prepared this very attractive and readable book which gives a brief historical sketch and describes the beliefs, customs, and observances of the three major faiths in America—Roman Catholicism, Christianity, Protestant Christianity, and Judaism.

This book does not assume that one religion is as good as another. Its basic premise is that in America every individual has the right to worship as he chooses—freedom of religion. It has become increasingly apparent that this freedom will not be secure unless our future citizens have some elementary understanding of and appreciation for their neighbor's religion.

The intelligent use of this book by all who are working with children or young people should greatly facilitate more cordial relations with Roman Catholic and Jewish fellow citizens.—N.E.K.

The Story of the Springfield Plan, Clarence I. Chatto and Alice F. Halliwell. Barnes & Noble, Inc. \$2.75.

The public schools of Springfield, Massachusetts, have taken very seriously their responsibility to prepare men and women for democratic living. The school curriculum emphasizes intercultural education. Children of minority groups are integrated into the whole life of the schools. Teachers are assigned without regard to race, creed, or color. Students are encouraged in their extracurricular activities to develop understanding and appreciation of various cultural heritages. Teachers and officials of the Springfield schools were surprised when their program received national attention and "Springfield Plan" became almost a national byword. They were only trying to carry out what seemed to be an obvious responsibility of the public school in a democratic society.

There is little in the Springfield Plan

that is completely new. But the total program is probably more comprehensive than anything that has been tried elsewhere. The attention that the plan has received is an indication of its excellence. Unfortunately it is also an indication of how little has been done elsewhere.

The authors of *The Story of the Springfield Plan*, both of them teachers in the public schools of Springfield, have written this intimate and detailed account of a program that has been developed in one American city.

The book is commended to teachers and other citizens who are concerned that their schools teach, by precept and practice, the democratic way of life.—N.E.K.

The Human Life of Jesus, by John Erskine. Morrow. \$3.00.

I picked up this book with fear and trembling. After all, I had read Mr. Erskine's *Helen of Troy* and *Adam and Eve*, and I could not imagine how he could apply the same methods to the life of Jesus. Before I had read very far, however, I soon learned that my fears were unfounded. Mr. Erskine has written a devout, sincere, and praiseworthy biography of our Lord.

"I call this book 'The Human Life of Jesus,'" says Mr. Erskine, "not because I don't believe in him, but because I do. First and last I have tried to tell the human life of Jesus. I appeal to no ancient manuscripts, but rather to your heart and mine, and to the experience of our human needs which enables us to recognize the healing wisdom in what Jesus taught."

The result is a readable and intensely interesting book. Readers of SOCIAL PROGRESS will be especially pleased with the manner in which the author emphasizes the social teachings of Jesus, as in his chapter on "The Messiah and the Kingdom of God," in which he stresses again and again Jesus' passion for social righteousness.—THOMAS FRANKLYN HUDSON.

Event in Eternity, by Paul Scherer. Harpers. \$2.00.

As one reads this book one senses a deep affinity of mind and spirit between its author and the prophet of the Exile, the Second Isaiah. In an introductory chapter Dr. Scherer begins with the first Isaiah and sets the stage of history for the life and message of the author of chs. 40-66.

Following this he launches into an exposition of the great themes of Deutero-Isaiah under the headings "The Glory and Majesty of God," "God in History," "The Eternal Purpose," "The God Who Would Be Man," and "The Divine Vocation." Drawing the prophet's words on these themes together from their original positions (printing Moffatt's translation), he lets his thoughts flow from them. He permits the light of these great themes to illuminate our own times until the Word of the Lord to those who wept by the Rivers of Babylon becomes just as surely the Word of the Lord to those who dwell beside the Hudson, the Ohio, and the Mississippi.

In the chapter on "God in History" the author makes clear that our primary theological problem (as for the ancient Hebrews) is the movement of men and nations. He warns us against starting from the human side and deducing God from our experiences. We must begin with God and interpret life's experiences in his light. God's will is the important thing that the Hebrews could not evade—nor can we. His will is more than an ideal for which we have to struggle. It is a fact which we have to accept.

The strength of this book lies not so much in anything new but in the rare insight with which the light of eternal truth is flashed about the world so full of the smoke and dust of war. It pierces through the mental fog and moral and spiritual haze in which we have enveloped ourselves as we have sought our own answers instead of God's to life's questions. Some of the chapters seem a bit overloaded, and one has to keep an eye peeled for a

sudden veering from the main road. It is written in that arresting style, with occasional flashes of humor, which we have come to expect of the author of *For Have This Treasure*.

On almost every page one runs across sentences such as these that stick in memory: "Life's imperatives spring from God's indicatives." "There is something on this earth that never wears uniform; yet it gets justice done." "For most of us, salvation is such a pious word, so tallow-faced, with the tips of its fingers together." "Religion is not the kind of sentimental first-aid kit we have made of it." "It is His [God's] mercy that gives His justice its cutting edge!"

Here is a book for laymen who want to understand the message of the great prophet of the Exile to his own day and to ours. Here is a book to put beside George Adam Smith's (*Expositor's Bible*) and Skinner's (*Cambridge Bible*), to be read of whom as well as to Dr. Julius A. Brown, his colleague at Union Seminary. The author acknowledges his debt. For a minister who hesitates to read and to guarantee a homiletical harvest, there is no lack of good grain. This reviewer saw at the first reading themes for no less than five sermons sticking right out of the last chapter alone!

—George W. Kimball

Can Representative Government Do the Job? by Thomas K. Finletter. Reynal & Hitchcock. \$2.00.

Mr. Finletter, lawyer, student of politics, and recent Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, thinks it can, provided we are willing "to subject the whole field of executive action to deliberative power of Congress and at the same time prevent that power from being used in an irresponsible manner."

With primerlike simplicity yet matter-of-fact clarity the author traces through the complexities of modern industrial life the closer international relationships, the growing need of a stronger form of government.

ment in 1945 than that formulated to the philosophic temper and geographic outlook of the citizens of the United States in 1776. He points out the conception of government of the people, by the people, and for the people embraced only such minimum conditions of the individual as would be necessary to preserve internal order and to protect the country from attack. Hence the constitutional form adopted was devised to check off the executive and legislative branches of the Government in separate departments, each to check and balance the other rather than to co-ordinate and supplement the functions of both.

The many crises which the United States has had to meet and the increasing scope of decisions which the Government has had to make and carry out, Mr. Finletter believes, have brought about at least a partial realization that new methods of co-operation between the legislative and executive branches are necessary. He offers three definite suggestions: (1) the setting up of a joint executive-legislative cabinet to formulate and present plans to Congress for action; (2) presidential power to dissolve the Congress and the Presidency in order that a general election would take place when a deadlock arose between Congress and the joint cabinet, and (3) election of all Senators, Representatives, and the President to serve for a concurrent, six-year term of office.

Clearly and simply arguments and premises are presented supporting the author's thesis that representative government, if not strong enough to stand up to the needs of the times, will bog down into a state of dissolution resulting either in chaos or authoritarianism. Whether or not one comes to agree with Mr. Finletter's premises and conclusions one is impelled to think the problem of representative government through as a constant vital to each Tom, Dick, or Harry, and that a truly democratic solution is to be found to the problems involved in the

securing of reasonable security, freedom, and peace.—G.M.M.

Practical Applications of Democracy, by George B. de Huszar. Harpers. \$2.00.

If we are able and willing, with Professor de Huszar, to envisage democracy as a "kind of society resulting from an attitude of mind and the spirit of action" rather than merely a form of government; if we can believe that citizenship is acquired through practice rather than through instruction, we will be eager to follow the author through to the last graph and the final page of challenge to us all to think and act together for the achievement of the democratic goal.

First, the "common notion that society is made up of individuals" must be discarded for the belief that each person is effective only as a member of a group, the author believes. From that point on we are ready to go forward into active participation in the joint affairs of home or school or office, of all community and government activities. We become persons of constructive action rather than mere "talkers"; we add to the negative principle of *consent* democracy the dynamic force of democracy achieved through doing.

And as man humanizes himself and grows in stature through social intercourse, Mr. de Huszar points out, not only freedom from too great restriction is desirable but also freedom to act constructively. It also becomes apparent, either in time or too late, that man is not ready for constructive action unless he has learned to think. Small groups, through discussion, planning, and action prove to be the real training ground for mental growth, for self-fulfillment, and for the preservation of democracy itself.

This is a book to be read, not one to be read about. It is a do-something book that does not fail to point a way to achieve democracy as well as to enunciate a faith in it.—G.M.M.

Study and Action

World Order Movement

This Atomic World. A symposium on the atomic bomb with an introduction by Henry P. Van Dusen, president of Union Seminary; and articles by Thorfin Hognes, atomic scientist; John Foster Dulles, authority on International Law; and Harold Stassen, former Governor of Minnesota. 10 cents.

What Next in World Order? by John Paul Jones. A look ahead to the continuing task facing the Church and the nation. 10 cents.

The MacKenzies Talk About the United Nations, by Helen E. Resch. Informal family discussions prepared for use as scripts for local broadcasting or as program material for group discussions. (Mimeographed.) 10 cents.

Order from: SOCIAL PROGRESS or any Presbyterian Book Store.

Group Relations

Jews in American Life, by Jacob R. Marcus. A brief history of Jews in America. Well-written and attractively printed. Suitable for general distribution, or as basis for group discussion. 16 pages. Free.

Order from: The American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York N.Y.

Building Bridges Between Groups That Differ, by John H. Elliott. A manual prepared especially for Protestant young people. Has been used successfully in summer conferences throughout the nation. 45 pages. Free.

The Bigot in our Midst, by Gordon W. Allport. A superb analysis of the psychology of prejudice, by a professor of psychology at Harvard University. Should be widely distributed. 8 pages. Free.

Order from: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

Race Relations Balance Sheet, by Edwin R. Embree. An excellent summary statement of the strides that have been made toward justice for the American Negro, as well as of what remains to be done. The entire discussion is specific and factual. Also contains a good bibliography. 20 pages. Free.

Order from: Julius Rosenwald Fund, 4901 Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

The Police and Minority Groups, by J. E. Neckler and Theo. E. Hall. Originally prepared for the City Managers' Association, this is a very practical study based on the successes and failures of police forces in thirty cities where racial tensions are acute. 20 pages. Single copy, free.

Hemmed In, by Robert C. Weaver. A brand-new pamphlet on the problem of restrictive covenants. Shows that neighborhood agreements concerning occupancy and maintenance standards are not only more democratic than restrictive covenants, but can also be more effective in preserving good neighborhoods. Cleverly illustrated. 10 cents.

Order from: American Council on Race Relations, 32 West Randolph Street, Chicago 1, Illinois.

4 Negroes Get Jobs Now? by Herbert R. Northrop. One of the nation's best authorities examines the prospects for Negro employment in this postwar world. He discusses each major industry and the major sections of the nation. 30 pages. 10 cents.

Order from: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 10, N.Y.

Opportunity, winter issue of 1945. The entire issue is devoted to a factual discussion of Negro participation in every branch of the armed forces. This information should be in the hands of all Americans. 56 pages. 25 cents.

Racial Aspects of Reconversion. This is a memorandum prepared by the National Urban League for the President of the United States. It is an over-all picture of the Negro citizen in relation to migration, employment, housing, education, health, and the armed forces. 25 pages. *Single copy, free.*

Order from: National Urban League, 1133 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y.

Prejudice!—Roadblock to Progress. This is a discussion guide that was originally prepared by the Army Orientation Branch for use by groups of soldiers. Because of its unusual excellence it has been reprinted for general distribution. 5 cents.

Order from: International Labor Defense, 112 East 19th Street, New York 3, N.Y.

Five Essentials of Brotherhood and **What Can the Jew Do?** Both are very excellent leaflets in the TODAY AND TOMORROW series, suitable for general distribution among Church groups. Either one could provide the basis for an evening discussion. 25 copies, free; \$1.00 a hundred.

Adventure in Brotherhood. A brief folder, attractively illustrated, that tells the story of a Church program in Illinois where Negro children from Chicago were guests at the homes of rural white families. *Free.*

Order from any Presbyterian Book Store or from the Department of Social Education and Action, 830 Witherspoon Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

National Health

For the People's Health. A brief, interesting discussion of our need for medical care and of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill as a proposed answer. Suitable for general distribution, and as a basis for discussion.

Order from: Physicians' Forum, 510 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

Why Do We Need National Health Insurance? by Ernst P. Boas, M.D. One of the nation's leading physicians comes to grips with America's health problem in a actual and carefully reasoned discussion. 20 pages. 10 cents.

Order from: New York Society for Ethical Culture, 2 West 64th Street, New York 23, N.Y.

4 Health Program for America. In the November issue of *Social Action* a minister, a doctor, a dentist, and a Senator cite some facts and voice their views. 5 cents.

Order from: Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches, 87 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

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